

PAPERS
OF THE
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME



VOL. I. No. 2.

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THE CLASSICAL TOPOGRAPHY

OF THE

ROMAN CAMPAGNA

PART I

BY

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THE Library of the British School at Rome, mainly thanks to the liberality of Dr. Steele, of the Trustees of the British Museum, of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, of the French Ministry of Public Instruction, and of various publishers and other donors, is now approaching a total of one thousand volumes.

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July, 1902.

THE CLASSICAL TOPOGRAPHY

OF THE

ROMAN CAMPAGNA

PART I

INTRODUCTION.

IT is a tendency of all great cities to possess two distinct and often independent sets of communications, the one for local, the other for long-distance traffic ; and, unless a city has suddenly sprung into being, it will be found that, in order of development, the former precedes and is the germ of the latter. In the case of Rome, we are able to trace with remarkable clearness the successive stages of the development of the road system. The roads which, when this system had attained its perfection, we find radiating in all directions from the city, may be divided into two groups. The first of these, the local roads, take their name from the cities to which they lead ; the second, the long-distance roads, from those who were chiefly responsible for their construction. All, however, must have originated as short-distance roads, leading to some town or other, and if we possessed sufficient information as to the spread of the Roman supremacy in Italy, we should be able to trace step by step the development of the long-distance roads from the local ones in every case. For the growth of the road system is intimately connected with the growth of the power of Rome. As soon as we are able to fix approximately the earliest bounds of her territory, we find her enclosed within very narrow limits. Except along the banks of the Tiber, her dominion extended hardly five miles from the city gates.

The earliest extensions of the Roman territory must have coincided with the first beginnings of the Roman road system. The two roads along the Tiber, the Via Ostiensis and the Via Campana, had existed from the first ; but after the Latin communities on the lower Anio had fallen under the dominion of Rome we may well suppose that there were added the first section of the Via Salaria, which led to Antemnae and Fidenae, the

Via Ficulensis (afterwards the Via Nomentana) which led to Ficulea,¹ and the Via Collatina, which led to Collatia.

Gabii, too, which held the plain between the Anio and the Alban hills, became Roman in fairly early times, though the period cannot be closely fixed, and after its subjugation the Via Gabina (afterwards the Via Praenestina) must have come into existence.²

The origin of the rest of the roads on the east of the Tiber is probably to be connected with the gradual establishment of the Latin League in the form in which it appears as completed in about 370 B.C. (Mommsen, I. 448 n.). Taking first those which bear the name of a town, we find that all these towns, Nomentum, Tibur, Praeneste, Labici, Ardea, Laurentum, are found in the list of members of the league given by Dionysius (V. 61), and had therefore already fallen under the supremacy of Rome. It is worthy of note that Ficulea and Collatia do not appear among the thirty federal cities. Their importance in relation to Rome had evidently decreased in the interval, and though the memory of them was not absolutely lost even in Imperial times,³ they were places of so little account that topographers have found great difficulty in determining their sites.

Of the roads which do not bear the name of a town, the Via Salaria (Livy, vii. 9. 6; Pliny, *H.N.* xxxi. 89) was said to have been the route by which the Sabines came to fetch salt from the marshes of Ostia and the saltworks of the Veientes near Fregenae (Maccarese). A road must have run, following no doubt the line of the later Via Appia, to Bovillae, Aricia,⁴ Lanuvium, and Velitrae, and thence on to Cora, Norba, and Setia. It would follow, at any rate from Cora onwards, the already existing Volscian roads which can still be traced along the hills. Another ancient road, which may date from this period, is that which runs through Castel di Leva straight to Satricum (Conca), while the Via Latina, which perhaps derives its name from this period, must have run as far as Tusculum and the pass of Algidus, and possibly onwards in the direction of Signia.

Of the roads on the right bank, the first sections of those which later became the Via Flaminia and the Via Clodia were probably brought into use

¹ Livy, iii. 52. 3; *C.I.L.* xiv. p. 447.

² Livy, ii. 11. 7, iii. 6. 7, v. 49. 6.

³ *C.I.L.* xiv. pp. 435, 447, and No. 4003.

⁴ As far as Bovillae the road must have already existed: for it seems clear that this town was in some respects the successor of Alba Longa. After the destruction of the latter, the *sacra gentilitia* of the Iulii were celebrated at Bovillae; and the inhabitants called themselves Albani Longani Bovillenses (*C.I.L.* xiv. p. 231).

after the fall of Veii in 396 B.C. to secure the conquered territory, while the road by which the Vestals fled to Caere in 389 B.C. (Livy, v. 40), took a line followed in later times by either the Via Cornelia or the Via Aurelia, probably the former, as the latter seems originally to have led to Fregene (Maccarese).

As the supremacy of Rome extended itself over Italy, the Roman road system grew step by step, each fresh conquest being marked by the pushing forward of roads through the heart of the newly won territory, and the establishment of fortresses in connexion with them. It was in Italy that the military value of a network of roads was first appreciated by the Romans, and the lesson stood them in good stead in the provinces. And it was for military reasons that from mere cart tracks they were developed into permanent highways. The first road which underwent this transformation was the Via Appia, *munita* (the word indicates the solidity with which this great work of engineering was carried out) from Rome to Capua by Appius Claudius, censor in 312 B.C., and pushed forward after each fresh acquisition of territory. But the history of the Roman road system as a whole, and of its gradual extension over Italy, lies outside the limits of our present subject.

A few exceptions to the twofold division which was made at the outset—local roads, taking their name from the places which they serve, and long-distance roads, taking their name from those who constructed them—may be noticed here. The Via Salaria and the Via Latina always retained their ancient appellations unchanged; while the importance of Tibur was probably the reason why the first part of the Via Valeria as far as that city always retained the name Tiburtina. Other exceptions are the Via Cornelia, which led to Caere (Cervetri), and the Via Vitellia, both of which, though they are roads of little importance, bear the names of men, probably their constructors. The Triumphalis is a short road which leaves Rome independently of the Clodia, but soon falls into it without leading to any town. The antiquity of the road now known as Via Tuscolana is by no means certain, and in any case the name is not ancient. The Via Portuensis dates from the construction of the Portus Ostiensis by Claudius in the first century A.D.

The roads which never acquired more than a purely local importance, as distinct from those which were developed into lines of communication of the first rank, were also *munitae* in course of time; and, traversing as they

did a fertile and well-cultivated district, carried no doubt, during the period before the Punic wars, a considerable amount of traffic. Gradually, however, the population decreased; the small farmers died out, and were replaced by a few large owners whose estates were cultivated by gangs of slaves. These formed a continual menace to the public safety, and once (in 198 B.C.) even threatened to surprise Setia and Praeneste. Under the government of the later Republic the state of things grew worse. Some of the small country towns, Labici, Gabii, and Bovillae, for example, were so decayed that they could hardly send representatives to the Latin festival (Cic. *Pro Plancio*, 9, 23); and as the population decreased, the malaria became more formidable. Ardea was even in ancient times considered an unhealthy place,¹ and many of the towns which had been members of the Latin League disappeared altogether.

In certain districts of the Campagna, the decay of the farmer population was, in a way, compensated for by the growth of the *villeggiatura* system. It became increasingly the fashion to seek refuge in the country from the turmoil of the capital, especially during the heat and unhealthiness of summer; and, in the Alban hills and at Tibur especially, the *villa urbana* began to supersede the *villa rustica* or homestead (Mommson, v. 377). But the possession of such country residences was the privilege of the rich; and that the system did little to improve the general prosperity is shown by the insecurity of the Campagna at this period, and by the decay of a town like Bovillae on the Via Appia, in a district which was as fashionable a resort as any. Even at Tusculum the burgesses were few compared with those of Atina, and were, most of them, men of rank.²

Under the Empire the establishment of public security, the more equable distribution of wealth, and the general revival of prosperity, wrought a considerable change in the condition of the Campagna. Not only were villas constructed just outside the gates of Rome, or, as before, in the Sabine or Alban hills, but the plain which lies between was by degrees covered with the residences of wealthy Romans, the remains of which, with the fragments of the foreign marbles with which they were decorated, bear faint testimony to their former magnificence. In time almost every available site was occupied. The water supply was the

¹ Strabo v. 3. 5, p. 231, χωρία τὰ κατὰ τὴν παραλίαν ὅσα ἐλώδη καὶ νοσερά, οἷα τὰ τῶν Ἀρδεατῶν καὶ τὰ μεταξὺ Ἀντίου καὶ Λανουίου μέχρι Πωμεντίνου κ.τ.λ. Virg. Aen. vii. 412, et nunc magnam tenet Ardea nomen; sed fortuna fuit.

² Cic. *Pro Plancio*, 8. 21.

object of the greatest care ; complicated systems of drainage were constructed, and roads made in every direction, the solidity of the construction of the by-roads being equal to that of the great highways. The whole plain of the Campagna must have come to be one vast garden¹ (see Lanciani, *Ancient Rome*, ch. x. ; *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 7). The country towns, too, enter upon a new epoch of prosperity (cf. p. 189).

The establishment of the Empire, too, brought with it important changes in the administration of the road system of Italy. While under the Republic, the general control of the roads belonged to the Censors, who constructed some of the most important, we find that all the milestones of the Republican period (three, or perhaps four in number : see p. 199) which have been discovered in the neighbourhood of Rome, were erected by aediles, either curule or plebeian. All other milestones of this period known in Italy are those erected by the original builder of the road, a consul or praetor,² who had nothing to do with its subsequent administration. The repairs (by contract) of the Via Caecilia were, on the other hand, approved by a quaestor.³ There seems, therefore, to have been a lack of systematic management. Under the Empire, each of the roads had a *curator*, appointed by the Emperor, and the *cura* of a great road was one of the most important official positions open to a senator. *Curatores* of equestrian rank are the exception, and only exist in the case of comparatively unimportant roads.⁴

The three roads which we have selected for examination provide us with specimens of each of the classes into which we have divided the roads which issue from the gates of Rome. The Via Collatina is a very early local road of small importance, which was in later times probably chiefly used in connexion with the Aqua Appia and the Aqua Virgo. The Via Praenestina (or Gabina, as it was at first called) was in origin a local road to Gabii, and like the Via Collatina must date back to a very remote antiquity. With the extension of the dominion of Rome it was pushed forward to Praeneste, though it never became a road of the first importance. The Via Labicana fared differently. Originally constructed,

¹ The hilly districts on the right bank of the Tiber were, to judge from the comparative scarcity of remains of buildings, in ancient times, as now, mainly forest lands.

² No praetorian milestones are as a fact known.

³ Hülsen, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1896, 87 sqq.

⁴ The inscriptions relating to these *curatores viarum* have been brought together by Cantarelli in *Bull. Comm. Arch.* 1891, 81 sqq.

as I have conjectured (p. 241), as a route to Tusculum (whether the first road from Rome to Tusculum was the Via Latina or this road is uncertain), it was then prolonged to Labici, and thence again, later on, when Labici had almost ceased to exist, to join the Via Latina. Being more direct, it superseded in importance what was probably an older road as a through route to Casilinum, where it fell into the Via Appia (p. 216). Besides ranking among the main arteries of communication between the different parts of Italy, it also carried a considerable amount of local traffic. Running as it does some way below Tusculum, and traversing the lower slopes of the Alban hills, it passes through the heart of this residential district, and must have been, for this reason alone, a road of some considerable importance. This we should judge from the large number of tombs which have been discovered along the earlier part of its course. It must be allowed, however, that other roads which have been in continual use from ancient times up till now (while the *Viae Labicana* and *Praenestina* have been roads of little importance in mediaeval and modern times) have hardly had an opportunity of retaining many of their tombs uninjured. They were regarded in the Middle Ages as the fair prey of the road-mender, and it is curious to notice that every Papal Jubilee marks the destruction of a considerable number of tombs along the line of the principal high roads leading to Rome, which were repaired on these occasions for the benefit of the pilgrims who travelled by them. However, the repair of the roads was not taken systematically in hand. People preferred to make a new track by the side of the old road rather than put the old one in order; and hence it is that we find that the modern road in many cases does not exactly correspond with the ancient. Often too the abandonment of an ancient road has been due to the establishment in mediaeval times of fortresses commanding it. The best known case is the castle of the Caetani at the tomb of Caecilia Metella, which led to the disuse of the Via Appia. The Via Labicana, perhaps for the same reason, fell entirely into disuse in the course of the Middle Ages from Torre Nuova to the point where it crosses the Sacco, a distance of twenty-five miles. This fact has naturally contributed to its preservation, although in recent times those portions of it which traverse cultivated districts have been a good deal subject to destruction (see for example p. 249).

The Via Praenestina, on the other hand, is one of the most important of the purely local roads which traversed the plain. It passed, as the

remains show, through a thickly populated country, and Praeneste, to which it led, was one of the very few cities of the old confederacy which still survived and flourished under the later Republic. It continued, in fact, like Tibur, to be a federal city with the old Latin rights until the passing of the Julian Law in 90 B.C., when it received the full franchise. Its great strength made it a refuge of the younger Marius in 82 B.C., when it stood a severe siege from Sulla, and only surrendered when the battle at the Porta Collina was lost. The city was destroyed, its territory confiscated and divided among the soldiers of Sulla,¹ and the new colony occupied the lower ground at the foot of the hillside on which the ancient city had stood. The site of the latter (to which, as in so many cases, the mediaeval town returned) was covered by the enormous terraces of the Temple of Fortune, rising steeply one above the other, the architecture of large parts of which is characteristic of this period. The temple, thus restored with greatly increased magnificence, must, notwithstanding the devastation of the city, have continued to attract worshippers. And the fertility and beauty of the district soon brought it into favour as a summer residence. Horace read Homer here (*Carm.* III. 4. 21; *Epist.* I. 2. 2). Here Augustus had a villa (Suet. *Aug.* 72), and Tiberius was cured of an illness (Aul. Gell. xvi. 13. 5). The younger Pliny had a country house at Praeneste (*Epist.* v. 6. 45); and to the south of the town there still exist the remains of a large villa, which belongs to the time of Hadrian, and is generally attributed to him. The Braschi Antinous was found in it.

Praeneste, however, never became so fashionable a residence as Tibur or Tusculum, both of which were somewhat nearer Rome, and the remains of villas are neither so plentiful nor so magnificent. It is probable that many of them belonged to rich townspeople or local proprietors. Further towards Rome, too, between Ponte di Nona and Cavamonte, the number of *villae rusticae* is considerable, while the tombs which line the road have a character of their own. They are mostly small chambers about three metres square, constructed of *opus quadratum* of peperino or tufa. Their height and internal arrangements cannot be determined, as there are no specimens preserved to any height above the ground. These are prob-

¹ The arrangement did not, it is true, remain long in force: for in 63 B.C. the ager Praenestinus was once more in the hands of large proprietors. Cic. *De Leg. Agr.* ii. 28, 78: *Nam si dicent per legem id non licere, ne per Corneliam quidem licet: at videmus, ut longinqua mittamus, agrum Praenestinum a paucis possideri.* Perhaps this was partly owing to the extravagance of the new coloni. Cf. *In Catilin.*, ii. 9, 20.

ably the tombs, not of wealthy Romans, but of local proprietors. They are generally arranged in groups each of which possessed its own *ustrinum* (p. 174).

The Via Praenestina had not, in fact, tombs of great magnificence, except in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome. The most popular burying places were the great main roads, the Appia, Flaminia, Latina, and the Praenestina was never one of these. Only one of its curators is known, and he, though of senatorial rank, was not a man of great distinction.¹ It never had the opportunity of becoming a main artery of traffic. Its prolongation beyond Praeneste took it into the valley of the Trerus (Sacco), where it soon fell into the Via Labicana, which itself joined the Latina at Pictae.

Nor had the Via Praenestina a monopoly of the traffic to Praeneste itself. Following the Via Labicana as far as S. Cesareo and taking the *deverticulum* which leads thence to Praeneste, the journey is only a mile longer, and though the road attains a higher level, it is not so continually "up and down" as the Praenestina. This is in fact the modern road to Palestrina, the Via Praenestina being no longer in use between Gabii and Cavamonte, except as a track, while between Cavamonte and Palestrina it serves for local traffic only.

This abandonment of part of the ancient Via Praenestina, which has to a great extent destroyed its *raison d'être*, accounts for the preservation of so many remains of antiquity along its course. From Tor de' Schiavi to the Osteria dell' Osa it runs through an almost deserted country, in which cultivation has only recently begun to take the place of pasturage, and carries little or no traffic. Between the Osa and Cavamonte it is a mere mule path, seldom traversed by carts, with the result that the ancient pavement is in a wonderful state of preservation for almost the whole distance, and is quite the best example to be seen in the neighbourhood of Rome, though perhaps in Chaupy's time, some 130 years ago, the Via Labicana between Fontana Chiusa and S. Ilario offered an even finer specimen of a Roman highroad (p. 273). It is only at Cavamonte that it comes into use again, and acquires a certain importance; and even here, by a stroke of good fortune, the modern road avoids passing over the Ponte

¹ C.I.L. xiv. 169: *P. Martio Quir (inia tribu) Philippo curatori viae Praenestinae, aedilicio curuli, v(iro) q(uaestorio) ab aerario, tribuno fabrum navalium Portens(ium), corpus fabrum navalium Ostiens(ium) quibus ex s.c. coire licet, patrono optimo, s(ua) p(ecunia) p(osuit)*. The inscription is dated 11th April, 195 A.D.

Amato, which accordingly remains untouched by restoration, and is one of the most perfect specimens of a Roman road bridge which has come down to us (p. 209). Beyond this we pass into a district where vineyards line each side of the road, for the vine still flourishes here as it did in Roman times,¹ and the remains of villas are, accordingly, insignificant (p. 211). For here the sites available were, for the most part, flat-topped ridges separated by deep ravines; whereas at Tusculum and at Tibur—the latter especially, where villas of great size were far more frequent, and where the view of the Campagna lying below was the supreme attraction—the steep sides of hills were selected, and it became necessary, in order to acquire a level surface for the house and the extensive gardens attached to it, to construct enormous terraces supported by massive substruction walls. These in themselves offer an efficient resistance to the wear and tear of time, and are to some extent spared from destruction, since they are actually useful to the modern cultivator, at any rate to the olive grower. So that it is easy, in these districts of the Alban and Sabine hills, to form an idea of the number and magnificence of the villas from the remains which still exist, though the buildings which crowned these enormous terraces have often entirely disappeared. Where these platforms were less frequent, as in the country round Praeneste, and in the districts along each side of the Via Praenestina, the remains are less massive, and have, to a far greater extent, fallen a prey to the ravages of time and to the hand of man. Often a heap of bricks and marble is the only indication of the site of a villa: and a single fragment of pavement all that may appear for miles along the line of an ancient road (cf. p. 167). It is, in truth, wonderful that so much has disappeared, rather than that so much is left to us. What must have been the density of population in Roman times, and how much must have been done by means of drainage and cultivation, is indirectly shown by the unhealthiness of the now abandoned Campagna. In earlier times than those of which we are speaking, even the pestilential district west of the Volscian hills, at the edge of the Pontine marshes, was inhabited and cultivated by a large population, who were enabled to do so by means of an extensive system of land drainage.² And once more the same results are being achieved in the same way. An agricultural colony established at Ostia is now able to live there permanently, whereas

¹ Cf. Horace, *Sat.* i. 7, 28: *tum Praenestinus . . . durus vindemiator et invictus.*

² See De La Blanchère, *Un Chapitre de l'Histoire Pontine.*

a few years back existence was hardly possible. This is the direct result of the abandonment of the salt marshes, and of the drainage of the land. And, in time, the same may occur in the rest of the Campagna. The rapidity of the spread of cultivation is most remarkable, even within the few years of my own recollection. Already that radiating outwards from Rome has almost met that descending from the Alban hills at Ciampino, not far to the east of the Via Appia; and it is not impossible that a hundred years of prosperity may make the Campagna once again a huge garden, as it was in the days of the Empire.

If this hope is realized, Rome will once more be surrounded by a spider's web of roads, as in the days when the Campagna was thickly populated. At present the main lines still exist and are in use, but hardly any of the *deverticula* are available even for cart traffic, so that the high roads remain unconnected, and to reach one from another without returning to Rome is, except on foot or on horseback, well nigh impossible.

The object of the present papers is two-fold: to determine the course of each of the three main roads (with their branches) which traverse the district under consideration, and to describe the ancient remains which exist near each road, as evidence of the inhabited character, or the reverse, of the country through which it runs, and of its comparative importance or unimportance. The evidence by which the course of a road may be ascertained is of two kinds, the literary, and what we may call the material. The first is naturally of a more general character than the latter, consisting as it does of passages in classical writers, and of the ancient Itineraries, which merely give the towns and post-stations on the road and the distances between them. The material evidence, on the other hand, is that which exists upon the spot, consisting of, first, what is left of the road itself: the remains of its pavement, of its embankments and bridges, of the cuttings made through the hills to avoid steep ascents and descents. To these must be added the inscriptions belonging to it, on milestones, bridges, &c. Then come the ruins of buildings connected with it: tombs with their inscriptions, *ustrina*, where the bodies of the dead were burnt, villas and water reservoirs bordering on the road, and so forth. It may happen, as is the case with the Via Praenestina, that this evidence is so abundant that the course of the road may be traced without great difficulty: on the other hand, it is sometimes the case, especially where a modern road coincides with an ancient one, that the only argument in favour of its

antiquity is the fact that we know (or suppose) that an ancient road ran between two given points, and can discover no traces of it elsewhere, so that we are driven to believe that the modern road has obliterated all traces of the ancient. Again, we often find fragments of pavement at considerable intervals, and are in this case obliged to reconstruct on paper what we believe to have been the course of the road in ancient times. It need hardly be said that, if excavations could be made at certain points, many problems which now present difficulties would probably be much simplified. Many relics of antiquity are, it is true, unearthed in the course of agricultural operations. The rapid spread of cultivation in the country round Rome leads to the continual discovery of roads, buildings, inscriptions, works of art, coins, &c. ; but the object with which the work is done usually excludes any attempt at scientific exploration, and in many cases discovery and destruction are simultaneous. These papers may perhaps also claim consideration as an attempt to describe, so far as possible, all the ancient remains of any importance the existence of which could be ascertained by careful and repeated examination of the district under notice. By thus recording them one is able to estimate the relative density of population, to observe which parts of the Campagna were inhabited by the wealthy owners of large villas, and which by agriculturists ; and the record is the more important inasmuch as the continual destruction just alluded to will, in all probability, soon preclude the possibility of compiling it.

The present work cannot, however, claim to be in any way complete. In the first place, I have adopted what I know to be a purely artificial distinction in limiting my consideration of the history and topography of the present section of the Campagna to the classical period. There is in reality no break of continuity between Roman times and the Middle Ages ; but Professor Tomassetti, whose monographs upon the mediaeval topography of the Campagna are indispensable to students, has not yet dealt with the three roads which are described in the following pages, and I have neither the requisite knowledge nor the time at my disposal to attempt in any way to anticipate the results of his investigations. I have not even been able to peruse all the books which bear directly upon the subject, still less to examine thoroughly the large store of manuscript material from which so much of our information is derived. Further, until Professor Lanciani's *Storia degli Scavi di Roma* appears, and the

sixth and fifteenth volumes of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* are completed, a large amount of indispensable material will remain inaccessible. Finally, the nature of the subject is such, that absolute completeness and finality are not to be hoped for, though one should devote a lifetime to the study of the Campagna. As I have said, new discoveries are continually taking place, so that a second visit to a site already explored may furnish considerable additions to one's knowledge. This has been especially the case in the neighbourhood of Torre Iacova (p. 249), where the spread of cultivation has been so great that I have had to make many alterations and additions to the text while these papers were actually in progress. Or a chance meeting with an intelligent inhabitant may lead to the investigation of important remains, the existence of which could not have been learnt from the maps or books available, and would never have been suspected by one's self.

I have purposely restricted myself to what some may consider the dry bones of the subject. I have not attempted to give any idea of the charm of the Campagna, of the beauty of the scenery, of the unfailing kindness of the inhabitants (due, it may be, to a superstitious belief that the "mad Englishman" is not to be harmed for good luck's sake), of the striking contrast between the abundant traces of the life that flourished there in the past, and the sometimes overwhelming solitude that reigns in the present. The Campagna has in truth a fascination of its own which defies analysis; and those who are not content with a passing glimpse at Tivoli or Frascati, but try to study it more deeply, will find that the task is a pleasant one indeed. It only remains to express my warmest thanks to those with whom my excursions have constantly been made, and to whom I am indebted for continual advice and assistance—Professor Lanciani and my father. Space forbids me to mention many others who have helped me, to whom, however, my gratitude is none the less on that account.

VIA COLLATINA.

The Via Collatina diverged to the right from the Via Tiburtina of imperial times just outside the Porta Tiburtina of the walls of Aurelian.¹

¹ I shall not enter here into the somewhat difficult question of the topographical history of the Viæ Tiburtina and Collatina within the walls of Aurelian. It is probable that both originally started from the Porta Viminalis, the distances being therefore reckoned from that gate, and not

It was a short and unimportant country road, and the only allusions to it in any classical writer are made by Frontinus (*De Aquis*, i. 5, 10), who states (i.) that the springs of the Aqua Virgo (which is still in use and known by the same name) are eight miles distant from Rome by the Via Collatina, an indication which agrees with that of Pliny (*H.N.* xxxi. 42), who states that the springs lie two miles to the left of the eighth milestone of the Via Praenestina, and (ii.) that the springs of the Aqua Appia are 780 paces to the left of the Via Collatina (the text of Frontinus has "Via Praenestina," but it has been demonstrated by Lanciani, *Commentari di Frontino*, 35, that no such springs exist there, and that the reading must be altered into Collatina), between the sixth and seventh milestones, and that Augustus increased the volume of water by tapping some fresh springs situated to the left of the Via Praenestina near the Via Collatina. It is probable, in fact, that the road was used in the time of the Empire mainly for the service of the aqueducts. No mention of it occurs in the Itineraries, nor have any of its milestones (though it must have possessed them) been discovered.

Paulus (*Ad Fest.* p. 37, Müller) mentions a Porta Collatina, deriving the name Collatia from the fact that the wealth of other cities was collected there. The name has probably arisen from a confusion (Jordan, *Topographie*, i. 1, 245). Attempts have been made to identify it with a small postern just to the S.E. of the Porta Tiburtina, but this is of course not a gate in the Servian, but in the Aurelian wall. It is, too, only eight feet in width, and was closed almost as soon as it was built (Nibby, *Mura di Roma*, 344).

The line of the road is represented by the lane known as Via Malabarba, a corruption of Mola Barba, which occurs in documents of the tenth century. The first part of this lane has been transformed by the construction of a new residential quarter outside the gate. As soon as the edge of this is reached the lane begins: and here it is crossed at right angles by an from the Porta Esquilina. Hülsen, however (*Forma Urbis Romae*, tab. i.), considers that in Republican times these two roads started from the Porta Esquilina, and names the strip of road between this gate and their bifurcation, a little way beyond the later Porta Tiburtina, "Via Gabina (Tiburtina Vetus)," by which he probably means that in early times the first few miles of the Via Collatina served as the first portion of the road to Gabii and Praeneste. Kiepert similarly marks a road (in his wall map of Latium) running direct from the Porta Esquilina to the second milestone of the Via Praenestina. The object in both cases is to explain the passage of Strabo quoted below (p. 150, note 1). Of Kiepert's road, however, there are no traces at all (Lanciani, *Forma Urbis*, 24, 25): nor do I know of any road connecting the Via Collatina with the Via Praenestina within the first mile or two of the city.

ancient road leading from the Porta Maggiore to S. Lorenzo, the pavement of which was discovered in 1881 near the cemetery, at a depth of ten mètres below the present surface (*Bull. Com.* 1881, 203). On the Via Collatina no pavement exists *in situ*, but there are many loose paving stones along the road : and a house to the N. of it on the E. of the main railway line to Florence has many paving stones and much marble built into it. A mile from the gate the lane approaches the railway to Tivoli. The Via Collatina must have followed the same direction, and has been perfectly obliterated by it.¹ Two headless female statues were discovered N. of the railway, W. of the Casale Bertone, in 1900 : they were fairly good in execution, though left rough at the back, which shows that they adorned a tomb, or were in some position where the front alone was visible. They had obviously been concealed where they were found, for each was lying on two paving-stones. Fragments of late walling were also found (*Not. Scav.* 1900, 89). Further N. are the remains of a villa, which was decorated with a great variety of marbles.

A tomb belonging to the road was discovered near Tor de' Schiavi in making the railway (*Not. Scav.* 1886, 81), and half a mile further on the pavement of the road was brought to light, at 1.60 m. below the present ground level (*Not. Scav.* 1886, 454, *Bull. Com.* 1887, 49). Just beyond the site of the fourth milestone, which lies to the N. of the fourth milestone of the Via Praenestina, the line of the old road comes once more into present use, being reached by a short modern branch from the Via Praenestina (p. 161). The bridge crossing the Fosso di Centocelle is modern, but the channel beneath it is paved with old paving stones, and so is the space in front of the fountain of the Acqua Vergine. Many of the bridges, too, have old paving stones used as kerb stones. Westphal (*Römische Kampagne*, 99) states that he saw here and there blocks of tufa which supported the ancient road, and speaks of the cuttings made for it through the hills as a sure proof of its antiquity. Further arguments in favour of the antiquity of the road as a whole are those drawn from the passages of Frontinus quoted above, and the fact that the construction of such a road in mediaeval times is in the highest degree improbable. About 300 yards beyond the site of the fourth milestone some tombs

¹ It seems probable that long before the construction of the railway it was not easy to trace, for, though Ameti (1693) and Fabretti (*De Aquis et Aquaeductibus*, Diss. i. tab. i. 1st ed. 1680) mark it perfectly correctly, subsequent writers do not. The sudden turn at right angles of the Aqua Virgo, so as to run parallel to the road, is strong evidence that it took this line.

were discovered in making the railway, constructed of tiles laid so as to form a gabled roof over the bodies: one tile bore the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 361, of A.D. 123–125. The date is, however, no indication of the period to which the tombs belong, which must be far later. The tombs were inclosed by a rough wall of unmortared blocks of tufa.

Three hundred yards further E. remains of walls in *opus reticulatum* were found, and an amphora with the inscription *ALEXANDE*/// (*C.I.L.* xv. 3398) on each of the handles. (*Not. Scav.* 1886, 454, *Bull. Com.* 1887, 50.)

It is curious to observe how much the road winds, and how it continually crosses and recrosses the aqueduct; but I have not been able to detect any trace of its having originally taken a straighter course than it does at present.

To the N. of the road, near the fifth milestone, lies the large Casale of Cervelletta, which is situated nearly a mile to the S. of the great red tufa quarries known as the Grotte di Cervara (Fig. 1).¹ These are now entirely abandoned, and overgrown with bushes and climbing plants, so that the general effect is most picturesque.

Close to the railway station of Cervara, S. of the line, are the remains of a network of small passages, cut in the rock and lined with cement. They were used for the storage of water for the use of a villa, of which some traces exist. A mile to the E. of Cervelletta is the Casale della Rustica. The older casale stands on the side of a hill, while a newer building occupies the summit. In front of the latter are the sadly damaged remains of a fine mosaic pavement, much of which has been recently destroyed: what remains consists of geometrical designs in black and white; and I was told that the missing portion was similar. The hill is pierced by a system of passages cut in the rock, 1 m. in width, and about 2 m. in height, which served for the storage of water, round shafts being cut at intervals so that the cisterns should be accessible from above. The cement with which these passages are lined is very hard *opus signinum*. It is curious that Nibby (*Analisi*, iii. 45) mistook the main passage of this system for the specus of the Aqua Virgo, for the level is far too high: the aqueduct does as a fact pass under the hill, but at a lower level. Nibby also mentions the existence of *opus quadratum* and *opus incertum* behind the older

¹ For the use of this and some other photographs (Figs. 4, 7, 12) I am indebted to the kindness of Miss Dora Bulwer.

casale. These remains have now disappeared, but, besides the mosaic pavement mentioned above, fragments of marble reliefs and an Ionic capital testify to the presence of an important building here. A few years ago a marble cippus was found here decorated with reliefs on all four sides. The front represents the façade of a tomb : on each side of the door is a cypress, and beyond this a square pilaster : on the back is a well executed relief of a bull, while on each of the sides is an olive tree, with a stork on



FIG. 1.—TUFA QUARRIES (GROTTE DI CERVARA).

either side, one of which holds a snake. The cippus measures 0·71 m. in width by 0·53 in depth : the top is broken off, and the height is at present 1·02 m. To the S.E., not far from the road, are the remains of a villa. On the N. of the casale, at a distance of a mile and a half from the road, and close to the Anio, are more quarries like those of Cervara. Among these, close to the river bank, is a small platform supported by walls of rough opus quadratum of tufa, with architectural fragments in travertine, which may be the base of a small temple.

Parker's assertion that he had found the specus of the Aqua Appia in the quarries of La Rustica is not credible, not to mention the fact that the quarries are just double the distance named by Frontinus from the Via Collatina, (see Lanciani, *loc. cit.*), and no springs that could be taken for those of the aqueduct are at present visible in the neighbourhood. The name "Le Piscine" given by the Staff Map to a piece of ground to the W. of the quarries arises simply from the existence there of a small tunnel cut in the rock for a length of about 70 yards—probably a water reservoir, connected with a villa—which could hardly have anything to do with a great aqueduct.

Between Le Piscine and Cervelletta are the remains of a *villa rustica*. Returning to the road, we find on the hill N. of it, a little before the ninth kilomètre is reached, the remains of a large villa.

Before the eleventh kilomètre stone, which is near the site of the ancient eighth milestone, in the garden S. of the road, is a large dolium 4.30 m. in circumference, the aperture having a diameter of 0.62 m. It was found buried up to the lip in the stone quarries a little to the E.; and I was told that no traces of any building were seen near it. There are, however, there the remains of an extensive villa which have been brought to light by quarrying operations. To the N. of the road is a mediaeval tower; in the flat ground below it the springs of the Aqua Virgo are collected and introduced into the aqueduct, the subterranean channel of which is to a large extent of Roman date. The lane which leads hence northwards has ancient paving stones as kerb stones, and there are others in use as pavement round the fountain just S. of the railway. They have probably been taken from the Via Collatina, unless they belonged to the *deverticulum* leading to the springs of the Aqua Appia (Frontinus, *De Aquis*, i. 5).

In clearing away some earth close to the springs of the aqueduct in December 1900, some late tombs (in which the bodies were covered by two tiles forming a gabled roof) were discovered. One bore the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 1512 b, the other (a flange tile 0.57 × 0.33 wide inside flanges) 1323 a. Further excavations have led to the discovery of the remains of a villa, in which were found two brickstamps (*C.I.L.* xv. 362, 709 b) of the time of Hadrian and some unimportant inscriptions (see *Bull. Com.* 1901, 155; *Not. Scav.* 1901, 328). Excavations were made in 1775 by Niccolo la Piccola in the tenuta of Salone in the quarto di Prato Bagnato, to the S. of the Via Praenestina (p. 171). *C.I.L.* vi. 10837 and 19338 were found in the

same tenuta, and were placed in the Museo Rusconi (Marini, *Schede*), while *C.I.L.* vi. 20595 was preserved in the sixteenth century in the Villa of Cardinal Trivulzio, now the Casale of Salone.¹ The springs were situated within the property of Lucullus (Frontinus, *De Aquis*, i. 10), which in the time of Trajan was in the hands of Ceionius Commodus (ii. 70), the adoptive son of Hadrian, father of Lucius Verus, through whom it became part of the imperial domain. The springs of the Aqua Appia lay 780 paces from the road, nearer the river Anio; but as the aqueduct began at a depth of 50 feet below ground, it would be difficult to identify them exactly.

The cutting of the road up the hill from the eleventh kilomètre appears to be ancient, and is paved with broken selce, perhaps fragments of paving stones. At the top of the next descent the modern road has been deepened, and the line of the ancient road has been cut obliquely. The pavement is seen on the left in the bank. The modern road now crosses to the left of the ancient, which may be traced by a level space on the right. Westphal (*Römische Kampagne*, 100) saw paving stones (not *in situ*) hereabouts. See also the MS. notes of the late Henry Stevenson (volume labelled *Vie Prenestina e Labicana*) which are now preserved in the Vatican Library.

Just before the twelfth kilomètre stone is reached, the modern road turns sharply to the N.; just after it has done so, a cart track goes off due E. This, by the cuttings made for it through the rock, is clearly seen to be an ancient road, and to the N. of the Casale Benzoni there are a few paving stones *in situ* in one of these cuttings, which is 4·80 mètres in width.

It is this road that is rightly taken by Fabretti (*De Aquis*, Diss. i. tab. i, and map opp. p. 90: cf. p. 159)² to be the real Via Collatina, while Nibby (*Analisi* map) and Gell (map) make the Via Collatina diverge from the road to Lunghezza about a mile nearer Rome. But the view of the first two writers, that Collatia stood, not at Lunghezza, but at Castellaccio dell' Osa, has no foundation in fact (p. 148), and the road, as we shall see, does not lead there.³ The absence of pavement *in situ* can be easily

¹ *C.I.L.* vi. 20609 was seen there in the seventeenth century, but existed in Rome itself, near S. Angelo in Pescheria, in the sixteenth.

² The references are to the second edition (the one generally met with) published in 1788. The first edition (1680) does not contain the second of the two maps cited.

³ Nor is there, so far as I know, any trace of the prolongation of this road to Ponte Lucano or to Le Cappannelle which Fabretti and Amati (in his map published in 1693) both show. The theory is probably due to confusion with the road described below on p. 177.

accounted for. Lanciani (*op. cit.* p. 122) gives the following extract from the *Archivio del Ministero di Belle Arti* (v. 1. 5), "nel Dicembre del 1858 il Serafini affittuario di Lunghezza scoprì e distrusse buon tratto del selciato antico, per cavarne materiali destinati ad una maceria. Il selciato era largo m. 2.67, e nascosto da soli 12 centimetri di terra." Fabretti (*De Aquis*, p. 160) notes that the road had only this width instead of the fourteen feet which the important highroads had, and the fact that Fabretti identified correctly the course of the ancient road shows that it was this, and not the modern road to Lunghezza, that was destroyed by Serafini.

The Tenuta Benzone was the scene of some important excavations in 1883 (described by Lanciani in *Not. Scav.* 1883, 169). The excavations were opened at the highest point, on the site of the Casale, and the remains of a villa attached to a large estate were found, constructed of opus reticulatum and brick. The floors lay at a depth of 1.20 m. below the modern level. The chief apartment was of the basilican shape, measuring 22 m. by 10 (the diameter of the apse being 5 m.) with two rows of columns: one good composite capital was found, and two bases, made of the fragments of an inscription of the gens Coponia turned upside down, were still in position, with the marble threshold between them. In the centre of the coarse mosaic pavement was a square basin or fountain, with an emissarium cut in the tufa rock below. Behind the basilica were three rectangular halls, orientated like it E. and W., and one circular room containing a bath with steps down to it. All these rooms were paved with rhombi of veined marbles. In the large room were found three fine antefixae of terra cotta, a bust of rare alabaster (cotognino) without the head, and a dolium with the inscription *C.I.L.* xv. 2524.

Two square shafts cut in the rock and probably communicating with Roman water cisterns may be seen, one N., the other S. of the Casale.

The Via Collatina now descends into the valley E. of the Casale Benzone. Here it was probably joined by a diverticulum from the Via Praenestina (p. 175), which continues to the N. of it along the left bank of the stream, but cannot be traced very far. Above it on the W. are the remains of a large villa in opus reticulatum, and in the side of the hill close to it is a tomb cut in the rock, square, with three recesses, one containing a sarcophagus cut in the rock, while the other two have shelves for the bodies. Before the Via Collatina crosses the stream it passes N. of a large

square open water reservoir constructed of small rectangular blocks of tufa with much mortar between them. In the cliffs to the S. of this is a tomb cut in the rock. On the further side of the stream it passes N.E. through another cutting, and at the tenth mile from the Porta Viminalis crosses the valley which runs under the W. side of the plateau on which Collatia stood. Passing under the S. extremity of the plateau, it ascends by a deep cutting on the E. side, which displays all the characteristics of ancient work, being so arranged that any one attempting to enter by it would be exposed to attack from either side.

To the E. of it, at the point where it enters the city, is a square shaft cut in the rock to a depth of 15 feet, probably an ancient well.

From this entrance to the city a road ran S. to the Osteria dell' Osa, keeping high above the W. bank of the stream (p. 177), while another ancient road probably ran below the cliffs on the E. side of the city through the narrow valley which separates them from the long ridge to the S., as the field wall flanking the modern track is full of paving stones. This road soon joined the road from Gabii, which comes from the E. bank of the Osa, and is described on p. 148, and enters the city in a N.W. direction. At the point of junction are three rock-hewn tombs, which have lost their original form. Three other tombs may be seen on the further bank of the Fosso dell' Osa, a few hundred yards further to the N.E.

Ascending to the plateau, we find a perfectly level rectangular space, destitute, it is true, of remains of city walls, of ancient buildings, or even of fragments of pottery, but presenting an admirable site for a city. It is protected on the S.W. and N.E. by deep and wide valleys, which in ancient times were probably more marshy than they are at present; on the S.E. a narrow but deep valley, which may be artificial (the cliffs of the plateau itself have certainly been scarped in places, especially W. of the entrance from Rome), separates it from the long ridge which runs down to the Osteria dell' Osa: while on the N.W. a narrow neck connects it with the rock on which the mediaeval castle of Lunghezza stands. This is itself protected on the N. and W. by the Anio (which in ancient times probably ran immediately under the N. end of the hill, instead of making a long bend as at present), and on the S. by a deep valley. The rock has clearly been much scarped, though at what date is doubtful. To the E. of the Casale is a large open quarry, which may be of mediaeval origin.

The site is thus one peculiarly adapted for an ancient Latin city, and

the position of the arx is characteristic. The city walls, if such ever existed, may have been destroyed by time or by the hand of man, or the scarping of the cliffs may have been considered sufficient. As to Collatia, classical writers give us little information, and the identification is made with the help of the passages of Frontinus, which enable us (p. 139) to identify the road which leads direct to this place with the Via Collatina. Livy (i. 38) tells us that it was taken from the Sabines, while Virgil (*Aen.* vi. 774) speaks of it as a Latin colony. In the time of Cicero it had lost all importance (*De Lege Agraria*, ii. 35, 96). Strabo (v. 3, 2, p. 230) classes it, along with Antemnae, Fidenae, and Labicum, among places τότε μὲν πολίχνια, νῦν δὲ κῶμαι κτήσεις ιδιωτῶν; and Pliny (*H.N.* iii. 68) enumerates it among the lost cities of Latium. There are no traces of any Roman villa, such as are often found upon the sites of ancient Latin towns; but these may have been obliterated by the construction of the castle, which is in its present form a large fortified farmhouse. In the courtyard are several fragments of marble columns, and three Corinthian capitals; there are also many Roman paving stones in the pavement. The inscriptions found here or hereabouts are few and unimportant (*C.I.L.* xiv. 3905–3907). A Greek metrical sepulchral inscription, found either here or at Tor dei Sordi, is published by Grossi-Gondi, *Il Tempio di Castore e Polluce sul Tuscolo* (Rome, 1901, p. 17).

It now remains to be decided whether the modern road to Lunghezza, from the point where the Via Collatina leaves it, follows the line of an ancient road or not. The fact that the road has been recently gravelled and put in order, and the face of the rock in the cuttings smoothed (especially in those just after the twelfth and thirteenth kilomètre stones), renders it more difficult to do so; but it is most probable that we should answer in the affirmative. There are no paving stones *in situ*, but several are in use in the bridge over the stream just to the E. of the thirteenth kilomètre.¹ Shortly beyond this the modern road diverges to the right towards the railway station, while a lane descends to the left of it, and crossing the stream by a modern bridge, reascends steeply to Lunghezza. Halfway up the ascent a small tomb chamber cut in the rock is seen on the left, the opening of which (now filled up) was on the W., the hole at the E. end having been made later. This would seem to indicate that the

¹ A little E. of the place where the road crosses the railway, a mediaeval cemetery belonging to some *domus culta* near Lunghezza was found in making the railway in 1886 (*Not. Scav.* 1886, 55).

approach to Lunghezza, if not entirely of mediaeval origin, was at any rate widened at some later time.

It is, however, to be noticed that Gell (*Topography of Rome and its Vicinity*, 174) says: "from the point where the road to Castel dell' Osa quits the direct line of the carriage road, [*i.e.*, about the tenth kilomètre], an ancient Via (the pavement of which is very visible) runs by Salone to Lunghezza." Westphal (*Römische Kampagne*, 100) noticed, at the point where the road turns E. as it reaches the Anio, traces of the walls which supported the road.

Stevenson, too, in his MS. notes, states that he considers that an ancient road ran between Salone and Lunghezza: and the evidence for it seems sufficient. In any case it was not the earliest road to Collatia.

The road which from Collatia crosses to the E. bank of the Osa divides directly after the crossing, one branch apparently going on due eastwards, though it is only traceable for quite a short distance, while another followed the right bank of the stream, going also towards the Osteria dell' Osa (Nibby, *Analisi*, i. 481). For the first mile or so no traces of it exist, but about half a mile to the N. of Castellaccio it seems to descend from the plateau above the valley into the valley itself. It does not however run along the bottom of the valley, but at a certain height above it, supported on the outer side by a retaining wall about a mètre high. This wall often rests on a shelf cut in the rock to receive it. It is constructed of rough polygonal work of silex ('selce'), the local rock being red tufa. There is, I believe, no other instance of polygonal work so near to Rome. The road is probably one of the most ancient in the Roman Campagna, being the direct line of communication between Collatia and Gabii. At the time of its construction the bottom of the Osa valley must have been so marshy as to be unsuitable for the passage of a road along it.

Shortly after the traces of the road begin to appear, some rock-cut tombs are seen on the opposite side of the valley. Castellaccio dell' Osa is soon reached. This is a ruined castle on a cliff overhanging the valley on the E. and is taken by Fabretti (*De Aquis*, p. 159) and Nibby (*Analisi*, i. 475 sqq.) to be the site of Collatia. As I have already stated, there are no traces of a road leaving the road to Lunghezza and running directly to this point. Nor is the site itself suitable for an ancient city. It is quite without defence on the N., E., and S.: the ground to the E. of it is, in fact, quite level (see Gell, *Environs of Rome*, 171). There

are no traces of ancient pottery, such as one would expect to find on such a site. The wall of opus quadratum of yellow tufa blocks, which is built on the edge of the cliff on the W., is taken by Nibby to be a part of the city wall, but may just as well be part of the substructure of a villa which, from the presence of fragments of marble, may be supposed to have stood here: the blocks are two Roman feet in height and thickness, which is larger than the usual size of the blocks employed in early Latin fortifications, arranged in headers and stretchers in alternate courses, and the wall is about eight feet thick.

The road continues to the S. of Castellaccio. Nearly half a mile beyond it, it is supported by a piece of wall of rough opus quadratum of red tufa, which must be of later date than the polygonal work. On the opposite side of the valley is a square cutting, affording an ascent to the plateau above, in the N. side of which cutting are some unmistakable rock-hewn tombs. The road must have continued southwards along the stream, joining the Via Praenestina to the E. of the Osteria dell' Osa (p. 177). Nibby (*op. cit.* i. 481) saw, he says, unmistakable traces of it.

VIA PRAENESTINA.

I.—FROM THE PORTA MAGGIORE TO TOR DE' SCHIAVI

(*from the First to the Third Milestone*).

The Via Praenestina, like all other roads starting from Rome, began technically from the gate by which it passed through the Servian wall, the Porta Esquilina, from which issued also the Via Labicana, and from this point the distances of the Itineraries are calculated:

Itin. Ant. and *Tab. Pent.* Gabii 12 miles,¹ on to Praeneste 11 miles, (see p. 187). The extant milestones of the road, three in number, do not help us much.² As far, however, as the bifurcation of the Labicana and

¹ Dessau (*C.I.L.* xiv. p. 279) states that the Antonine Itinerary gives the distance from Rome to Gabii as fifteen miles, which would of course be erroneous; but he is apparently misquoting the Itinerary, which, according to Parthey and Pinder's edition (1848), p. 143, gives the distance correctly.

² The slip in *C.I.L.* xiv. p. 457: *Viae Praenestinae nulli extant cippi milliarii* is an unfortunate one. One (*C.I.L.* x. 8306) is fragmentary, of the time of Maxentius, noted as situated "nel pozzo in una masseria fuori porta Maggiore." Another (*C.I.L.* x. 6886) also belongs to the time of Maxentius, and bears the number seven (upon the reverse is *C.I.L.* vi. 1342), but was found in a garden within the Aurelian walls, certainly, therefore, not in its original position. The last is described below (p. 198).

the Praenestina at the tomb of Eurysaces the road ran within the inhabited area, and a description of its course belongs rather to the topography of the city of Rome.¹ It will be more convenient therefore to begin from the magnificent double arch of the Aqua Claudia and Anio Novus, now known as the Porta Maggiore, which carried the aqueducts over the two roads just before their bifurcation, which is marked by the fact that the left opening, through which the Via Praenestina passes, is slightly askew. This arch was incorporated with the wall of Aurelian, and converted into a gate of the city. Honorius closed the left hand aperture, leaving only the right hand one open, and building a tower upon the tomb of Eurysaces the baker, which stood, as its peculiar shape shows, at the point where the roads separated. This tomb, which belongs to the last century of the Republic, was exposed to view in 1838, when the tower of Honorius was removed (Canina, *Annali*, 1838, 219; *Edifizi*, iv. tav. 225, 278; *C.I.L.* i. p. 222, vi. 1958; Jordan, *Topographie*, I. i. 358). The inscription had however been seen and copied by Baldassare Peruzzi (*Sched. Flor.* 663', Ferri, *Catalogo*, p. 175: cf. also the Destailleurs portfolio in the Kunstgewerbe Museum at Berlin, A 376 f. 24'), so that it must have been accessible from the inside of the tower. Ligorio (MS. Bodl. f. 85') makes an interesting comparison between the so-called *rustica* work of the Porta Maggiore (the surface being intentionally left rough) and the pseudo-archaic polygonal walls which support the terraces of some of the great villas near Tivoli.

The name of the locality was "Ad Spem Veterem," though no remains of the temple, to the existence of which the name points, have ever been discovered. It is one of the most important topographical centres of ancient Rome, as the meeting point of nine roads and probably of as many aqueducts—certainly of eight; this being the side which afforded the easiest approach to the city.²

The Via Praenestina here leaves the Labicana on its right, and runs almost due E., continuing in this direction as far as the Ponte di Terra,

¹ Strabo (v. 3, 9, p. 237), though he is writing of the state of affairs after the construction of the tomb of Eurysaces, speaks as if the bifurcation took place at the Porta Esquilina: ἡ Λαβικανὴ ἀρχομένη μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἡσκυλίνης πόλης, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ ἡ Πραινεστίνη, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δ' ἀφείσα καὶ ταύτην καὶ τὸ πεδίων τὸ Ἡσκυλίνον, πρόεισι κ.τ.λ.

But it is impossible to suppose that the two roads separated, and then reunited after a mile at the Porta Maggiore, to separate once more just outside it. The passage of Strabo, therefore, remains inexplicable. Cf. Jordan, *Topographie*, i. 1, 358, 362, and *supra*, p. 139n.

² See Lanciani, *Commentari di Frontino*, 36.

an ancient bridge about two miles beyond Gabii, after which its general direction is S.E. There are but few important turns, and the desideratum of straightness is wonderfully well satisfied, considering the difficulty of the country traversed beyond Gabii. The engineering of the road is on the whole very good, though the ascents and descents are frequent and in some places steep, and in one case (p. 202) a difficulty has been, it would seem, wrongly dealt with.

For the first mile after leaving the gate the continuance of habitation and cultivation has destroyed almost all traces of antiquity, and records of excavations are scanty. The pavement of the road was discovered in 1859 within the Vigna Villaume, at some distance from the wall enclosing it (see Lanciani, *Commentari di Frontino*, 90, who cites the *Archivio del Ministero Pontificio di Belle Arti*, v. 1, 5). Pirro Ligorio (MS. Bodl. f. 60.) gives a plan of a square tomb surmounted by a cone or *meta*, and a chamber in the interior in the form of a Greek cross entered from the N. side, which, he says, was much damaged. He gives no details as to its position; but as it apparently came first in his description of the road, it cannot have been very far from the gate.

The late Henry Stevenson (in his MS. notes, f. 4,) gives the following inscription as existing in the vineyard on the right of the road at the first kilomètre upon a slab of marble built into the wall of the well.

TI·CLAUDIO
SABINO

One of the steps leading to the wine-cellar is formed of a slab of marble bearing the inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 16393, Cornelia Festa | hic situs est.

In the vineyard on the right at the first mile (the Vigna Sanguigni) Stevenson copied the following unpublished inscription upon a marble slab:

D·M
SERVILIAE·PHILTATE
C· C· F· B· M
VIX·ANN XXI·M IV
T·FLAVIUS·RHODON

Shortly after leaving the gate—just by the stables of the tramway—a by-road, the Vicolo del Pigneto, diverges to the right. This is probably

an ancient road—though indications of antiquity are few.¹ Beyond the Vigna Pulini, where are a few ancient fragments, it is now interrupted, but the line is taken up again by the prolongation E. of the Vicolo dei Carbonari (p. 221) and it would fall directly into the line of the road described on p. 166.

Ficoroni (Mem. 8 in Fea's *Miscellanea*, vol. i.) mentions that one mile from the gate, upon this road, but nearer to the Via del Pigneto, in 1703, in the Vigna Cavallini Buonaccorsi, in the remains of a large mausoleum,² was found a sarcophagus with the bones and skull of the deceased wrapped in a shroud of a substance not unlike asbestos, known as amianth, which was placed in the Vatican Library by Clement XI.

Fea, *Varietà di Notizie*, xiii. p. 145, tells us that in 1818 excavations were made in his presence by Contessa Buonaccorsi, but that nothing was found but remains of pavements, the floor of a water reservoir, a few fragments of inscriptions and of decorative marbles.

At the first kilomètre from the modern gate a sepulchral cippus of the end of the Republic was found in 1899 (*Bull. Com.* 1899, 261). The first existing monument of importance is the Torrone, on the left of the road, a little less than a mile from the Porta Maggiore. This is an enormous round tomb about 45 m. in diameter, in the centre of which is a square chamber, built in opus quadratum of peperino, which measures only four mètres by five, and is approached by a long passage eighteen or nineteen mètres long and about 1·25 m. high, which runs right through

¹ In *Bull. Com.* 1891, 321, the existence is recorded of two sepulchral cippi, which very probably belonged to this road (and if so, go far to prove its antiquity) in the Vigna Serventi. The inscription of both is identical—one is used as a step in the wine-cellar, the other was found close to the Vicolo del Pigneto.

There are indications of an ancient road having diverged E.N.E. at the Vigna Pulini, following the boundary between the Tenuta dell' Acqua Bollicante and the vineyards, which belong to the Basilica of St. Peter; but where the boundary stops all traces of the road are lost. At the Vigna Rocchi are several fragments of marble columns and capitals, some broken selce, and a sarcophagus ornamented with undulating channels, bearing the following unpublished inscription upon a *tabula ansata* in the centre.

· D · M ·
M · AVR · AVG LIB.
CHIRYSOMALLVS
SE VIBVS · EMIT · SIBI
ET · POSVIT ·

The sarcophagus is 2·13 m. in length, and 41 cm. in height, while the tablet measures 39 by 31 cm., the letters being 3 cm. in height.

² This detail is due to the *Diario di Roma*, Jan. 2, 1819 (reprinted in Fea, *Varietà ai Notizie* xiii. p. 144), where the date is given as 1702.

the concrete core ; the entrance is from the N. side, away from the road. The stonework of the outside has naturally entirely disappeared. A view of the tomb is given by Pietro Sante Bartoli (*Sepolcri Antichi*, tav. 58), and a plan and conjectural restoration by Canina (*Edifici di Roma*, v. p. 86, vi. tav. 105). The tomb is the largest in the suburbs of Rome, but the owner is unknown. Canina, on the strength of Eusebius, *Chron. Ol.* 175, 3 : *Titus Quinctius Atta scribtor togatarum Romae moritur sepultusque via Praenestina ad miliarium II.* makes Atta the occupant ; but the attribution is of course quite groundless.

To the W. of it must have stood the tomb of M. Aurelius Syntomus (Ficoroni, *Labico*, 28 ; *C.I.L.* vi. 13244/5), the inscription in honour of whom still exists in the vineyard where it was found, with other marble fragments.

Just before reaching this point are traces of the ancient pavement of the road. Stevenson notes that he saw the track of the road in the Vigna del Torrone. Near the Torrone, in the small Vigna Bertone, the inscription of M. Antonius Terens, *negotiator celeberrimus suariae et pecuariae*, was discovered in 1892 (*Not. Scav.*, 1892, 23 ; *Bull. Com.* 1891, 318 ; Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, 515). In the Vigna di Nola, to the N. of the Torrone, are the remains of a villa of the first century A.D. (*Bull. Com.* 1891 p. 322).

The road now descends through a cutting in the rock, which bears marks of antiquity (Nibby, *Analisi*, iii. 627). High on the left are two passages cut in the rock, which in Nibby's time radiated from a shaft, the top of which was constructed in opus reticulatum, which has now disappeared : they are probably connected with the water supply of a villa. A cutting recently made here as an entrance into the vineyard revealed other foundations in opus reticulatum and late tombs. (Stevenson MS. cit. f. 4'.)

At the bottom of the valley is the Marranella stream. The Vigna Aragni near the bridge has produced a certain number of sepulchral inscriptions (*Not. Scav.*, 1876, 89 ; 1878, 166 = *C.I.L.* vi. 8496, 10638, 12078, 14288, 15087, 24783, 28770).

On the further side of the bridge the Via Praenestina is crossed at right angles by the new military road, on the W. of which is a fairly well preserved tomb in ornamental brickwork, entered from the W. side, which was the most highly decorated. This fact may point to the existence of a

deverticulum running southwards past the façade of this tomb to the Via Labicana, though no traces of such a road have, so far as I know, been discovered. At this point several tombs and columbaria¹ which lined the road, five of which had mosaic pavements, were found in 1880 together with the pavement of the road itself (*Not. Scav.*, 1880, 479; 1881, 106; Kaibel, *I.G.I.* 1509, 1840; *C.I.L.* vi. 24447, 25424, 25859a, 28131, 30528 (1-4), xv. 272—a brickstamp of 123 A.D.); also, though in made ground, a statue of Hercules in Luna marble 90 cm. high (head and arms wanting), of good sculpture, with the following inscription on the plinth: *Herculi Iovio sacrum C. Voltilius Alexander fec(it)*. The epithet Iovius is unique. The reference may be to Diocletian and Maximian (cf. *C.I.L.* vi. 255, 256; *Bull. Com.* 1880, 286; 1881, 4). On the E. side of the military road, and still on the S. of the Via Praenestina, on the edge of the hill, is another brick tomb, with a modern house upon it. A niche, elegantly decorated with a scallop shell pattern in stucco, is still preserved. In front of the tomb, at a distance of 10 m. from the edge of the highroad, there was discovered a T-shaped enclosure, formed by a wall of opus reticulatum 12 m. in length, and another at right angles to it running towards the road, with columns of bigio marble in front of them—the columns had in later times been half hidden by masonry. In this tomb were found various terra-cotta charms against the evil eye, including two bells, a fig and some nuts (described by Padre Bruzza in *Annali*, 1881, 290, and illustrated in tav. d'agg. U, where a plan of the tomb is also given). In the area of the tomb were found two waterpipes bearing the inscription *C.I.L.* xv. 7477.

Behind this point to the S.E. are the remains of a good-sized villa which occupied the top of the knoll, constructed partly of opus reticulatum with tufa bricks at the angles (a style of building which belongs to the beginning of the Empire) partly of brickwork. In the latter I found the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 712 (*aetatis Hadrianæ fortasse incipientis*). There are remains of large pavements of black and white mosaic, still in fair preservation, and fragments of marble are plentiful.

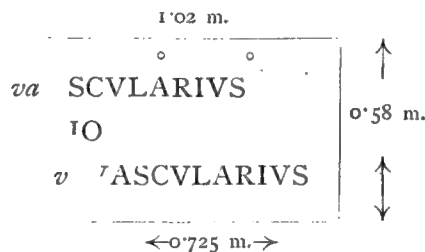
The modern road ascends the hill by means of a curved cutting breaking through, on the left, the foundations of several tombs; the ancient road probably ran straight up the hill. Similar slight divergences of direction are not at all uncommon on this, as on other roads. When

¹ One niche contained a leaden box (diam. 15 cm.) in which were some eggs.

the Roman pavement fell into disrepair, in the early Middle Ages, it was found to be easier to make a new track, using the materials supplied by the tombs which lined the road, than to attempt to make the old one passable. It would be hard indeed to find anything worse than a Roman paved road which had been allowed to lie disused and out of repair for many centuries, after the even surface of the pavement had once been broken up.

Near the top of the hill on the left a small arcosolium cut in the rock, with traces of painting on the walls and roof, was found in 1888 (*Not. Scav.* 1888, 192) and still in part exists. It belonged to a small catacomb discovered in digging for pozzolana and now blocked up (Stevenson MS. *cit.* f. 5).

On the right, just before reaching the third kilomètre stone, are some foundations of a villa or tomb on the edge of a modern quarry. In the quarry itself lies a large block of travertine with the following unpublished inscription in finely cut letters 11 cm. in height.



On the upper edge of the inscribed surface are two small protuberances, probably intended for use in moving or fixing the stone. The tomb to which this inscription belonged was constructed of large blocks of tufa, some of which have also fallen into the quarry. Some of the *vascularii*, or makers of gold and silver plate, seem to have plied their trade on the Sacra Via (p. 159).

On a hill on the opposite side of the road some 100 yards off, 44 m. above sea level, are extensive remains of the foundations of two buildings. The group further from the road belongs to a large villa; the construction is in opus incertum, and is a fine specimen of this kind of work. Much finely painted stucco has fallen from the walls. The importance of the building is further shown by the extensive rock-cut passages of its drainage

system and water reservoirs, which have been brought to light (and in large measure destroyed) by quarrying operations. The water reservoirs are distinguished by their lining of fine white cement.

The second group, nearer the road, consists of concrete foundations, and of remains of a brick structure of uncertain purpose, the brickwork of which is not good, the bricks themselves bearing small plain circular stamps (diameter about 5 cm.) which belong to a rather late date. Very likely it was one of the five water reservoirs mentioned by Nibby (*Analisi*, iii. 707) as existing near the Villa Gordianorum (Tor de' Schiavi).

Of the rest, two still exist on the S. side of the road (the eastern one of the two a very large square building resting upon vaulted foundations of brick and reticulatum with buttresses). To the N. of it are remains of a villa, presenting a curious mixture of construction. The walls are faced with small rectangular blocks of tufa, which near the angles alternate with courses of bricks, this latter being a style of facing often found in conjunction with opus reticulatum, whereas small rectangular blocks of tufa are generally held to indicate a late date. See, however, Winnefeld, *Villa des Hadrian*, p. 26 (*Jahrbuch des Instituts*, Ergänzungsheft iii.) for proof that this is not necessarily the case. The fourth reservoir lay a little to the S. (traces of the foundations remain): while the fifth lies on the N. of the road and is included in the group of buildings belonging to the Imperial villa.

Between the Porta Maggiore and Tor de' Schiavi on the left of the road in a vineyard (the locality is not precisely defined) the inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 30529 was discovered, together with other remains in travertine of the large tomb to which it belonged. *C.I.L.* vi. 84 (an altar now in the Capitol, with the dedication *Caelo aeterno Terrae matri Mercurio mensoratori*) was first seen in the Vigna Greppi along this road in the 17th century.

II.—VILLA GORDIANORUM (TOR DE' SCHIAVI).

The existence of such a villa on this road is attested by the following passage of Iulius Capitolinus (*Vita Gordiani*, iii. c. 32): *Domus Gordianorum etiam nunc extat, quam iste Gordianus pulcherrime exornavit. est villa eorum via Praenestina ducentas columnas in tetrastylo habens, quarum quinquaginta Carysteae, quinquaginta Claudianae, quinquaginta Synnades, quinquaginta Numidicae pari mensura sunt. In qua basilicae centenariae tres, cetera*

huic operi convenientia et thermae quales praeter urbem utcunque nusquam in orbe terrarum. And the remains existing at this point are of such size and magnificence that the usual identification may fairly be accepted. Certain portions, however, must in this case have belonged to an earlier villa, as is shown by the style of their construction, while the round building, the so-called temple, is shown to be later by the brick stamps. It is not likely that the villa ever extended to the south side of the road, as communication between its two parts would have been rendered difficult by the continuous belt of tombs which flanked each side: and there is no reason for supposing that it did so.

Close to the road are some remains of foundations in opus reticulatum, and not far from them a shaft which very likely communicates with the drainage or water cisterns of the villa. A little further north is part of a lofty hall, octagonal below, circular above, lighted by round windows in the attic, built of brick with the vaulting lightened by the insertion of empty amphorae at intervals: a superstructure and a large round pillar in the centre, both built of small rectangular blocks of stone, have been added in mediaeval times.

In the Bodleian MS. of Pirro Ligorio (f. 30) a description is given of this building, with a plan and restoration of the exterior, and a sketch of the details of the stucco decorations of the interior. Ligorio calls it a temple, and attributes its destruction to its use as a fortress: "Questo è caduto per mano degli huomini, per che si uede che ne' tempi piu bassi, le gente factiose che erano i Roma, lo circundorno di un' altro muro, à guisa d'un reuellino, et sopra la uolta ne tirorono intorno un altro ornato di merli à modo di ripari, hauendoui prima piantato un pilastro di pietre, dal centro del Tempio per insino à la uolta, per maggior sostegno di quella, et di quelli ripari fatti da loro, et cosi fù ridotto in forma et in uso di fortezza, la qual poi si come io mi credo . . . per opera di qualche Pontefice, o' pur del Popolo Romano, fu gettata à terra per uia di fuoco."

A plan is also given by Piranesi (*Antichità Romane*, ii. tav. 29) which differs from that of Ligorio in showing other chambers round the central one, similar to those which surround the large nymphaeum of the Horti Liciniani, generally known as the temple of Minerva Medica; and on tav. 30 are shown two portions of the stucco decoration, the same as those sketched by Ligorio, but naturally in a worse state of preservation. At the present day they are still preserved in the vaulting of one of the

rectangular niches which in the interior alternate with circular niches. Piranesi regarded the structure as a tomb. Canina (*Edifici*, v. p. 88 *sqq.*, vi. tav. 106, 107) considered it to be the central chamber of the *thermae* of the villa: he adds a plan of them, which he confesses to be largely fanciful. Still less trustworthy is his plan of the three *basilicas* and of the *tetrastyle* of the villa, of which no authentic traces seem to exist.

Close to this building is a water reservoir constructed of *opus reticulatum* and brick (not later in date, therefore, than the age of the Antonines) in two stories, and fairly well preserved, though lately restored to some extent. To the E. of this is a large brick apse, belonging apparently to about the same period, which Canina takes to be a *nymphaeum*, Piranesi a tomb (*Antich. Rom.* ii. tav. 59, 60). Further N. again are traces of more buildings. Further E. again, and slightly nearer the road, upon the highest point of the hill, is a large circular building, 44 feet in diameter inside, with a colonnade in front, approached by a flight of steps. A considerable part of the building, and of its domed roof, is preserved. It was lighted by circular windows in the attic.

It has been the subject of many drawings by Renaissance architects. Besides those of Ligorio (see below) and many in the Uffizi collection (see Ferri, *Catalogo*, p. 162), plans and sketches are to be found in a volume of drawings at Windsor (that numbered xvii. by Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 719, ff. 32–34). Of the portico in front nothing remains but the concrete foundations. Ligorio, however (MS. Bodl. f. 33), who gives plans of both upper and lower stories, determines its length at 39 feet, its width at 17, and says that existing traces of the *imposts* of the columns and fragments of the columns themselves enabled him to do so. The columns were of “marmo Thebaico,” and according to the *imoscapes* and height of the capital were 20 palms (=4.446 m.) high. Several fragments of gray granite columns, 0.63 m. in diameter, are still to be seen. Canina says that the temple was surrounded by a colonnade with columns of *Carystian* marble, part of one of which and traces of the construction had been found. The exterior was decorated with stucco modelled in imitation of *opus quadratum*. Inside, above the windows, is a frieze of life-size figures painted in green. Ligorio (MS. Bodl. f. 33) and Nibby (*Analisi*, iii. 707) speak of these paintings as Christian, but they seem to be of an entirely classical type, and to represent genre scenes.

Below is a chamber, resembling closely that which lies under the *heroon*

of Romulus, son of Maxentius, near the Circus of Maxentius on the Via Appia, to which this building is very similar. It has a large central pillar, supporting the floor of the upper room, the distance between which and the walls is only 14 feet all round. This chamber probably served in both cases as the actual tomb.

The date of this building is fixed by the brick stamps (*C.I.L.* xv. 1627, 1628) as not earlier than the time of Diocletian, so that it can have nothing to do with the Gordiani.

Close to this building, on the E. side of it, are some scanty remains of the curved W. end of a small Stadium 12·40 m. wide.¹ In the neighbourhood of this villa, on both sides of the road, tombs have been discovered in great numbers. In the *Dissertazioni dell' Accademia Pontificia*, vol. viii. pp. xxi, xxii. are two inscriptions found by Prince del Drago in 1836. As they have not been recorded in the Corpus, I give the text of both. They belong to tombs on the right-hand side of the road.

M·ATIVS·DOMETIVS
VASCVLARIVS·DE·VIA·SACRA
M·ATI·ANTEROTIS·VASCVLARI
LIB·V·A·LXII
ET·HERES·IN·PARTE·SEXTA

T·FL·THESMO·ET
FL·EVDOSIAE
HEDIVS·CAES·Ñ
SER·A·VESTE·MVND·
FECIT·PARENTIBVS
SIBI·ET·SVIS

Other sepulchral inscriptions found here are given in *Not. Scav.* 1883, pp. 82, 132 ; 1887, 188. In the first article a description is given of a group of tombs beginning 300 mètres from the third kilomètre stone from Rome, and lining each side of a road parallel to the Via Praenestina, which, if produced, would run along the front of the "temple" of Tor de' Schiavi. Most of these were of fine opus reticulatum, with niches for one or two

¹ The map is not on a sufficiently large scale to render it possible to indicate these remains with absolute accuracy—in fact, a good deal has been omitted from it at this and other crowded points in order to avoid confusion.

urns, alternating with neat *aediculae*. The absence of brick would indicate that the opus reticulatum belonged to the first century; but the style of the inscriptions and of the stucco decorations points rather to the second or third century. It is also to be noted that *loculi* were found in the same tombs as the urns. It would seem therefore that these *columbaria* must have been left unoccupied for a long time after their construction, and used for the first time a century or two later. Several similar tombs are to be seen just beyond the Tor de' Schiavi on the N. edge of the modern road where it descends through a cutting; and in front of the Tor de' Schiavi some have been recently disclosed in digging holes for the planting of trees along the road. One was a small columbarium with brick walls, covered with stucco, with traces of painting. The W. end was probably 1.90 m. long, and had two niches 0.35 m. deep, each holding two urns: the lip of one of the urns lay 1.10 m. below the level of the modern road. It has already been filled in again.

On the S. side of the road, on the rising ground above it, are several tombs in a better state of preservation, including two columbaria of opus reticulatum: one an elegant square structure with brick niches each containing two urns, alternately round and square, and traces of painting, which has been altered in late times. Another further E. has two or three tiers of urns in good preservation, and a bee-hive roof.

Lanciani (*Not. Scav.* 1890, 118) notes that these columbaria, which belong to the first and second centuries A.D., were partly constructed with materials from tombs of the end of the Republican period, as various inscriptions on blocks of travertine were found embedded in their walls. Similar violations of the sanctity of tombs in ancient times are less uncommon than is sometimes supposed. At Pompeii, in the area of the newly discovered temple of Venus Pompeiana near the Porta Marina, a marble slab bearing a sepulchral inscription of the Republican period has recently been found, which had been brought from a tomb outside the gate to be used as building material (*Not. Scav.* 1898, 422). In these columbaria there were no traces of inscriptions above the niches. Two inscriptions only were found, one on a marble cippus, the other on a marble stele. There were also found some tombs of a later period, covered with a gabled roof of tiles bearing the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 27.

Among the inscriptions recorded as having been found at or near Tor de' Schiavi are *C.I.L.* vi. 927 (*Neroni Caesari Aug. et sancto Silvan[o]*)

aediculam cum imagin[e] Faustus Caesaris d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) [f(ecit)], discovered by Fortunati in 1861-2); *C.I.L.* vi. 1945 (discovered by Capranesi at the beginning of last century), and various other sepulchral inscriptions, most of them discovered by Fortunati at the same time. (See index to *C.I.L.* xiv. which is however neither perfectly accurate nor absolutely complete). Fortunati also discovered a mosaic pavement with four female heads, representing the Four Seasons (*Bull. Inst.* 1861, p. 85). Fabretti (*Inscriptiones*, p. 12) gives a drawing of the interior of a columbarium found near Tor de' Schiavi in his day, showing the arrangement of niches and the distribution of the urns.

III.—FROM TOR DE' SCHIAVI TO PONTE DI NONA

(*from the Third to the Ninth Milestone*).

Just before the fourth kilomètre is reached, a modern road, wrongly supposed to be the ancient Via Collatina by Holstenius (*ad Cluverium*, p. 102), and many others (including Kiepert, in his map at the end of *C.I.L.* xiv.)¹ diverges to the N., which, at the crossing of the Tivoli railway, falls into the line of the ancient Via Collatina (*supra*, p. 140). On the S. of the road are the remains of a tomb or a small water reservoir, with two chambers, in two stories, presenting a curious mixture of construction. The inside of one of the walls is faced with excellent opus reticulatum, the outside with bricks and small rectangular blocks of tufa, one course of the former alternating with from one to four of the latter. This last style of construction one would ascribe to the fourth century were it not for the opus reticulatum on the inside of the wall.

In the vineyard known as "Pedica di Tre Teste" a sepulchral relief was found in 1897 (*Not. Scav.* 1897, 60). In the excavations for the construction of the fort on the S. side of the road, no discoveries of importance were made: a few tombs, "a capanna," *i.e.*, with the bodies lying on the ground, covered with a pointed gabled roof of tiles, a few coins, some glass spoons, and two *amphorae vinariae* (*Not. Scav.* 1881, 90).

Traces of tombs continue to be observed along the road, especially on the N. side. Here once stood a very fine brick tomb, known as the Casa Rossa from its colour (see dal Pozzo drawings at Windsor in the vol.

¹ Nibby's map is incorrect, but he knew the truth (*Analisi*, iii. 627).

numbered xv. by Michaelis (*Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 719), ff. 3, 5; Ficoroni, *Vestigi di Roma Antica*, Lib. i, c. 26; Cecconi, *Storia di Palestrina*, p. 17; Nibby, *Analisi*, i. 397, iii. 628), which was completely destroyed by Don Camillo Massimo in 1824. Not far off was discovered in the eighteenth century the tomb of a boy, in which was found a golden bulla (see Ficoroni, *Bolla d'Oro*, p. 6 *sqq.*, reprinted by Fea, *Miscellanea*, vol. i. p. 174, Mem. 117). Excavations conducted by Vescovali in 1819 at a distance of three miles from Rome, near the road, yielded the following inscriptions: *C.I.L.* vi., 1881, 9168, 11377, 12174, 15017, 15100, 16406, 16873, 17068, 19024, 19263, 19551, 23668. Also four pavements in black and white mosaic (one with a Gorgon's head in the centre), and two sarcophagi on one of which the figures in relief still bore traces of gilding. (See *Diario di Roma*, Jan. 2, 1819 = Fea, *Varietà di Notizie*, p. 145.) *C.I.L.* vi. 1463 was found here in 1830, and also two fine busts of unknown individuals now in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican (Helbig, *Führer*, i. nos. 41, 47), and one of Augustus,¹ and some other objects (*Bull. Inst.* 1829, 212; 1830, 123; 1832, 4; Nibby, iii. 712). A brick tomb and a sepulchral inscription were recently found in the property of Prince del Drago (*Not. Scav.* 1900, 26).

About 300 yards from the road on the N., at the Casale delle Cappellette, is a group of three brick tombs—the westernmost in two stories, and built of the fine ornamental brickwork, with thin bricks and very small layers of mortar, which is characteristic of tombs of the end of the second and beginning of the third century. (In this particular tomb I observed that ten bricks, with the layers of mortar between them, occupied only 28 cm.) They generally betray their real date by the inferior brickwork of their foundations. Further E. is an oblong building with vaulted roof and an apse at the W. end (where there is also some later work in opus mixtum) and five small oblong windows at the spring of the arch in the S. wall (in which are also two slit windows with marble lintels lower down). Close to it is a square tomb of bad brickwork, with four small windows; the interior is circular, with a domed roof. This group of tombs must belong to some intermediate road between the *Viae Praenestina* and *Collatina*, or to some large private estate.

Near this point a *deverticulum* may have joined the *Via Praenestina*, coming due N. from the *Labicana* and passing under the great arches

¹ Said to be in the Palazzo Casali.

of the Aqua Alexandrina, which shortly become visible to the right, crossing the Fosso di Centocelle. I have only been able, however, to trace the existence of a road by finding two tombs and some paving stones near the aqueduct; its continuation to the Praenestina (if it ever had any; Nibby and Gell mark it as running only for a little over half a mile from the point where it leaves the Labicana) has been obliterated. No traces of it, or of any other ancient road, were found during the construction of the fort.

About $5\frac{1}{2}$ kilomètres from Rome, a few hundred yards to the right, are the remains of an extensive villa. The most conspicuous part is a square building, standing upon a lofty base, and apparently octagonal inside, constructed of opus mixtum (*i.e.* of courses of bricks and of small cubes of tufa alternately) with a binding course of tiles at the interval of 1·28 metres. Below it in the valley are extensive remains of floors of opus spicatum (herring-bone brickwork) and signinum, the former having the following section (from top to bottom):

opus spicatum, '05 m.

fine layer of cement, '1 m.

rough cement ("coccia pista"), with fragments of brick or tile, '085 m.

grey pozzolana and tufa concrete: uncertain.

Just before reaching the sixth kilomètre stone there are some remains of tombs on the left of the road. Here a fragment of a large sarcophagus, similar to one in the Cortile del Belvedere in the Vatican, called "sarcophago proconsolare" (Visconti, *Museo Pio Clementino*, V. tav. xxxi. p. 185 of the Milan edition), was discovered in 1888 (*Bull. Com.* p. 266, *Not. Scav.* p. 507).

On the left, extending as far as the Via Collatina, lies the Tenuta di Tor Sapienza (so called from the fact that it belongs to the "Sapienza" (*i.e.* Collegio) Capranica). Besides the inscriptions, &c. found by Vescovali in 1819 three miles from Rome near the road (cf. p. 162), and the objects discovered by him in 1830 in the same locality, excavations conducted by Fortunati in 1861 produced an enormous number of inscriptions, almost all of them sepulchral. A list (not complete nor quite accurate) may be found in the "index locorum recentiorum" at the end of Vol. xiv. of the *Corpus Inscriptionum*. The remains close to Tor Sapienza itself are quite insignificant.

At Torre di Tre Teste the line of tombs continues on each side of the road, though in most cases the foundations alone remain. The tower takes its name from a much damaged sepulchral relief with three portrait heads which is built into the little chapel. Stevenson (MS. cit.) makes the head on the (spectator's) right to be that of a woman, with the inscription PO/////A beneath it; the other two being men's heads, and the names illegible. Not far off he saw another similar relief with two female heads and one male, but without any inscription. This latter still exists in the garden of the casale (now an osteria), a little way to the W. This casale is partly built on ancient foundations, which can still be seen level with the ground on its E. side. Nibby (*Analisi*, iii. 249) saw various architectural and other fragments there. The ancient road seems to have run just to the N. of the modern at this point. In the Tenuta di Tre Teste a mosaic pavement was found in December 1777, of which an engraving exists in the library of the German Archaeological Institute (Mau, *Katalog der Bibliothek*, i. 296). In the circle in the centre is Europa riding on the bull, in four subsidiary semi-circles Tritons, Nereids, sea-monsters, and floral patterns: these are separated by elaborate borders. In the same tenuta, *C.I.L.* vi. 15786 was found in 1728, and another sepulchral inscription and a bust in 1829 (*Bull. Inst.* 1832, 2).

Just before the bridge, Nibby (*Analisi*, i. 214) mentions a *deverticulum* following the right bank of the stream to the Via Collatina. The bridge over the Fosso di Tre Teste has two or three of the tufa blocks of the ancient bridge still *in situ*. Just beyond the bridge stood the sixth milestone of the ancient road. The road-cutting ascending from the stream is probably ancient; in it are various traces of tombs, and the remains of a villa may be seen on the north at the foot of the hill. The road diverging northwards at the top of the hill to the Via Collatina does not appear to be ancient, though, according to Frontinus (*De Aquis*, i. 5), the road leading to the springs of the Aqua Appia Augusta left the Via Praenestina near the sixth milestone, the springs of the aqueduct lying 980 paces to the left, close to the Via Collatina.

Just beyond the eighth kilomètre stone are some very interesting remains of a villa and of its system of water supply. The place bears the name of "Muraccio dell' Uomo."

Near the road is the entrance to a long tunnel cut in the tufa rock, descending steeply N.E. for thirty or forty feet, after which a circular

chamber, 6.45 m. in diameter, and lined with cement, is reached: beyond this the tunnel continues and water soon begins to appear, while another tunnel branches off from it to the S.E. The water in the main tunnel was, we were told, one mètre deep, and there was a footway on each side. The water was clear and pure, and apparently fed by strong springs; for it was said that it was never exhausted, though its level sometimes changed.

These underground cisterns provided the water supply for the villa above. Between the entrance to them and the road a bathroom, with marble wall lining and mosaic pavement, had been discovered and destroyed. Various tombs had also been found near the road, and had met with a similar fate.

The farmhouse itself rests upon ancient foundations of red tufa concrete, orientated N.E. by S.W. A few yards N. of it is a mound, under which are the remains of another part of the villa. The mound has not been by any means completely excavated, and the chambers accessible belong entirely to the basement. The first which is entered is constructed of small blocks of tufa about 20 centimètres long by 6 to 8 high, with thick layers of mortar between. This mode of construction, if met with in Rome, would be assigned to the fourth century A.D. at the earliest, though it occurs at Hadrian's Villa,¹ and in other villas of the Campagna, where its close conjunction with opus reticulatum places it of necessity in the second century. It has, further, recently been found in some passages under the area of the Forum Romanum, which probably belong to Republican times (see *Classical Review*, 1902, 94). Below this is a hypocaust, the floor of which is composed of concrete resting upon *tegulae bipedales*. I found below the floor the rare stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 402, belonging to the time of Commodus: other stamped bricks were said to have been found and destroyed. The floor is supported by hollow terra-cotta socket pipes, each, not counting the socket, 32 cm. long; at least three were placed one above the other (the space below the floor is not completely cleared out): sometimes the top one is reversed, so that the socket does not fit into the pipe below, and there is often a small piece of brick between the pipe and the floor of tiles. The chamber measures 2.92 m. by 3.53 m., and there are six rows of supports one way and seven the other. In the course of the excavations a dolium and several rough household pots were found.

¹ See Winnefeld, *Jahrbuch des Instituts*, Ergänzungsheft iii. p. 26 sqq.

The district between the *Viae Praenestina* and *Labicana* was here traversed by an ancient road, the first part of which is in all probability represented by the modern *Vicolo del Pigneto* (p. 152), though I have not, after careful investigation, been able to find the connecting links. After the end of the prolongation eastwards of the *Vicolo dei Carbonari* there are no certain traces of the road (though its line may be assumed with some degree of probability, coinciding as it does with a boundary line for some way, until it crosses the *Fosso di Centocelle*) until, just to the N. of the *Muraccio di Rischiaro*, we reach a cutting made for it, which seems certainly ancient. There are some loose paving stones about, and this tower itself is full of fragments of them and of pieces of marble. Two of the latter bear a few letters of a sepulchral inscription :

TRATV
PHI

[*arbi*] *tratu* | *Phi*

To the N. of the cutting are the remains of a church, which runs parallel with the road, built apparently upon an earlier building in *opus quadratum*. Further W., on the S. of the line of the road, is a mass of tufa which has been cut square (about 2·10 m. each side) which may have served to support a sepulchral cippus.

On the E. of the *Fosso di Tre Teste* are the remains of two water reservoirs (both single chambers, constructed in *opus reticulatum*, with buttresses) and of the villas which they supplied. On a brickstamp (lunate) which I found here I could only read

OPDOLEX///
//INF///
/////

It seems to have belonged to the second century. A few paving stones belonging to the road occur among these ruins. Its pavement is said to have been found in the fields about a kilomètre to the south of *Muraccio dell' Uomo*, and the cutting made for it through the hill appears unmistakably on the W. of the *Fosso di Tor di Bella Monaca*. Possibly also the tomb at point 54 to the N. of the aqueduct lies on its

course. In the stream itself the pavement of the road may still be seen running due eastwards. It lies at about 2 m. below the modern ground level, and is in very good preservation and of good period. About two yards from it are some traces of a (presumably) mediaeval bridge.

The pavement itself is 3·13 mètres wide, the tufa *crepido* on each side is 51 cm. wide. The selce blocks of the pavement are bedded on tufa (Fig. 2). On the opposite side of the stream the cutting made for it is again

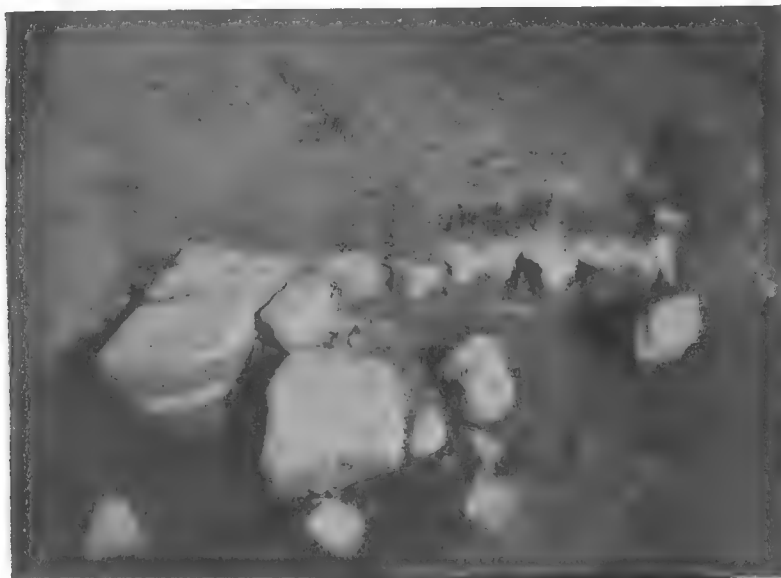


FIG. 2.—PAVEMENT OF AN ANCIENT ROAD.

visible, and a few paving stones lie in it : at the next ditch one or two paving blocks remain—the rest has been washed away. After this it passes through another cutting, above which I found lying on the ground part of a marble weight (the shape of a curling stone) with the mark of attachment for the metal handle, a lip of a dolium, and part of a marble plinth ; unmistakable signs of some habitation. It then runs along the top of the hill, and descends to the Fosso di Tor Agnola. Here Fabretti (*De Aquis et Aquaeductibus*, Diss. i. tab. i.) marks a bridge in opus quadratum, which he attributes to the Aqua Alexandrina. This bridge has disappeared, but in the W. bank of the stream is the brick-built *specus* of the aqueduct, 90 cm. wide with rounded top, running in a S.E. direction. The

bridge therefore must have belonged to the road, and not to the aqueduct, which ran, perhaps, under the stream bed in Roman times. Beyond this point Fabretti marks 5 *putei* (inspection shafts) and remains of three more; and, following the cutting of the road through the next hill, we soon reach two of them, almost precisely 240 feet apart (which is the interval regularly observed) measuring 82 × 70 cm. inside: on the N. side are footholes 64 cm. apart. After this point the aqueduct, and probably the road as well, go off S.E. towards the Torraccio di S. Antonio; they are soon crossed by an ancient road running from the Osteria dell' Osa to the Via Labicana, which it reached a little beyond the eighth mile (see p. 176).

Returning to the Via Praenestina, we find distinct traces of the cutting made for it through the rock at the ninth kilomètre. On the right, on the edge of the cliff, are remains of a villa in opus reticulatum. At Tor Angela, which lies just on the line of the Aqua Alexandrina, and above the last conspicuous series of arches before Pantano (where its springs are) is reached, there are two sculptured marble bases, neither, however, with an inscription. One, the lower part of which only is preserved, measuring 59 cm. across the front × 47 cm. thick, bears a relief of a group of wolves; to the right a male, to the left a female with three cubs under her. There is also a marble capital, and many selce paving stones.¹ After crossing the stream called the Fosso di Tor di Bella Monaca, the road ascends again. For about a hundred yards of the ascent the cutting of the ancient road is traceable at a few yards distance to the S. of the modern one, which cuts through the tombs along its N. side; but about half-way up the hill it turns sharply, and they coincide once more.

On the left of the road between the ninth and tenth kilomètres are various unimportant remains, some of late date, others foundations of tombs along the road itself. The ancient cutting is again traceable just after the tenth kilomètre.

On the S. side of the road here, close to the Casale Tor Angela, is a brick tomb of two chambers, sunk so that the crown of the arches is just at the ground level. The second chamber, which is square, with three large oblong niches, was probably open in the centre. The barrel vaulting of the niches is very finely decorated with stucco ornamentation, arranged

¹ Cecconi (*Storia di Palestrina*, p. 17) notes the discovery of a fine sarcophagus near Tor Angela not long before he wrote, about 1820.

in hexagons and half hexagons. In the hexagons are sometimes oblong tablets. Within the large niches are smaller ones, plain, and quite low (see plan, Fig. 3).

Above the door of the Casale itself is a fragment of a relief apparently representing a battle of the Amazons. In the centre is a male torso, to

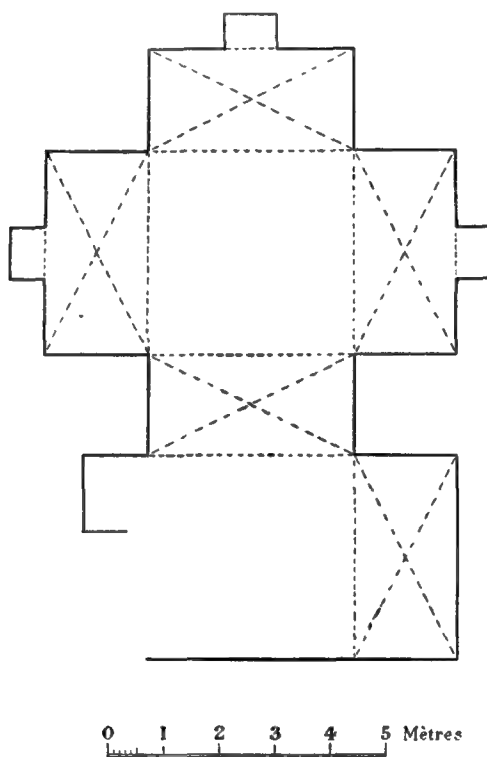


FIG. 3.—PLAN OF TOMB NEAR CASALE TOR ANGELA.

the left a female draped figure falling, on the right a third on horseback. The workmanship is good, though the relief itself is much damaged.

The fountain E. of the Casale, in the side of the hill, which bears the name of Fontanile della Mezzaluna from its shape, is fed by two ancient *cuniculi*, or channels cut in the rock, 1·80 m. high and 50 cm. wide. A fine female head in marble, in a decorative style, representing some divinity, is built into the fountain. Another fountain further E., on the right bank of the Fosso di Tor Agnola, is also supplied from an ancient cuniculus which leads apparently to extensive cuttings in the rock.

On the left of the road, a little way before the eleventh kilomètre is reached, is a large tomb—a circular mound, within which is a round chamber approached by a passage in opus reticulatum. There are also several brick fragments about, one of which bears the rectangular stamp (unpublished hitherto)



· SVAVISGPMET
TETTIAESEF

The whole stamp measures only 0.069 m. x 0.021 m., and is remarkably small.

On the right of the road, about halfway up the hill, a late tomb formed of tiles, one of which bore the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 1464a, was discovered in March 1900. On the top of the hill, and to the S. of the eleventh kilomètre stone, are traces of a large villa.

In *Not. Scav.* 1883, 170 is recorded the discovery, 200 m. beyond the eleventh kilomètre, and 60 m. from the edge of the road on the N. side, of an ancient press for oil or wine, consisting of two huge blocks 2.10 x 2.20 m., with a double concentric circular channel and another for an outlet, and two troughs of sarcophagus shape 2 m. long by 35 cm. wide. The whole apparatus had been destroyed in ancient times, for the two large blocks had been turned upside down and a pavement of opus spicatum built upon them.

About 200 m. further on the same side, close to the road, is a water reservoir or *piscina*, consisting of a single chamber 10½ by 4½ paces inside, lined with hard cement, strengthened on the outside by buttresses at each angle and in the centre of each wall. It is constructed of blocks of tufa, of the size and shape of modern bricks, with two bands of five baked bricks each running right through, one 1.10 m. above ground, the other 1.30 m. above that. Further from the road are the remains of a mediaeval structure on an ancient site.

On the opposite side of the road, in a field, a large white marble cornice, which still lies there, was recently found. The breadth of the block is (not including the cornice) 62 cm., its present length (part was broken off in attempting to lift it) 1.36 m. The depth of the cornice at the top is 31 cm.

Further S.E. (almost due S. of the twelfth kilomètre stone) is a large

piscina, single chambered, of selce concrete, without buttresses, which, owing to the strength of the selce concrete, are not required, but with its walls becoming slightly thinner after about six feet above ground.

To the S. of this are remains of a villa rustica in opus quadratum of tufa; in one place is a floor, for a wine or oil press perhaps, formed of three blocks of tufa placed side by side, with a slightly raised edge round them.

The excavations made by Niccola la Piccola in 1775 in the Tenuta di Salone, quarto di Prato Bagnato, on the right of the road, resulted in the dis-



FIG. 4.—PONTE DI NONA, N. SIDE.

covery of the Aphrodite of the Gabinetto delle Maschere in the Vatican (Visconti, *Mus. Pio. Clem.* i. 10, Helbig, *Führer*, i. no. 258) and of the following inscriptions, *C.I.L.* vi. 325, 1607, 8972, (*Bull. Inst.* 1853, p. 49), 9954.

Just before the twelfth kilomètre stone stands the eighth milestone of the modern road, erected by Innocent XIII. This corresponds fairly exactly to the ninth mile of the ancient road: the bridge over the ravine just beyond is therefore called Ponte di Nona. It is by far the finest road bridge in the neighbourhood of Rome. Rossini (*Antichità Romane*, vol. ii.) gives a very fine view of the north side, which is also shown in Fig. 4. Canina (*Edifici*, v. 90, vi. tav. 108) gives plans from

measurements taken when it was restored under his own direction. See also Nibby, *Analisi*, ii. 590. The total length is about 72 m., the greatest height 16 m. There are seven arches, each with a span of about 6 m. The whole bridge is slightly askew. The roadway, the pavement of which, perfect in Nibby's time, has now been removed, was 6·25 m. wide; the width of the bridge at the top is 10·20 m. The thickness of the piers of the four central arches diminishes gradually towards the top: this is especially noticeable on the N. side. The whole bridge is faced with lapis Gabinus (sperone) except the bridge heads, which are constructed of red tufa quarried very likely on the spot. There are traces of quarrying at the E. end of the bridge, and along the E. side of the valley to the S. The keystones of the arches are of travertine. The core of the bridge is of concrete. Projecting corbels have been placed at the spring of the arches to facilitate repairs.

The central arch encloses a smaller one, of the same span, but only 4·50 m. in height. This was the earlier single arched bridge; all that was really needed for the passage of the stream. Later on, however, in order to obviate the necessity of descending into the valley and ascending again on the other side, the splendid viaduct, which still carries the road at a high level above the ravine, was constructed.

The magnificence of the bridge seems to indicate that the district to which it immediately leads was in Roman times of a certain importance. This conjecture is to some extent borne out by the ancient remains described in the following section.

The fountain half a mile to the N. of the bridge in the valley has close to it an ancient rock-cut channel, either a drain or for water supply, two feet wide. Further along the valley, on the hill on the E. side, are the scanty remains of a villa.

IV.—FROM PONTE DI NONA TO OSTERIA DELL' OSA

(from the Ninth to the Eleventh Milestone).

On the hill just beyond the bridge, on the N. side of the road, are some foundations of large blocks of tufa, in a line running N.E. by E: a little further E. are two more large blocks, and further again, on the N.E. slope of the hill, above a small valley which falls into the larger ravine of

the Fosso di Ponte di Nona, there is a large deposit of votive objects in terra-cotta. They have been much destroyed by the ploughing up of the field, but we found many fairly perfect specimens of almost all parts of the human body—though not of the internal organs—faces, hands, feet, legs, bodies, eyes (in the form of small flat discs with a representation of the eye on the upper side), two specimens of the membrum virile, and fragments of drapery belonging to complete figures. In some cases the terra-cottas still show traces of colour. The representation is, as a rule, more or less life-size, though parts of statuettes also occur. We also found some small figures of cows and horses. These votive objects are similar to those which occur in the well-known deposit at Veii (Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 64; *Not. Scavi*, 1889, pp. 30, 63) and are fairly well executed.

We also found many fragments of black glazed Etrusco-Campanian pottery, one of which has part of a seated draped figure in relief, holding a staff, and a few letters of an inscription upon it. It seems to read (n)AIVIOS or ALVIOS (Fig. 5).

This fragment was submitted to Professor Pasqui, of the Government Department of Antiquities, who attributed it to the period 250–200 B.C.

Another (the bottom of a vessel) has three rosettes and a T in relief stamped upon it, with another character (a T?) scratched on the outside. A third fragment has a decorative pattern painted in ochre upon the glaze. The presence of this extensive deposit of ex-votos points unmistakably to the existence of a temple on this hill, occupying a conspicuous position above the great bridge. The ex-votos were hung up on the walls of the cella of the temple, precisely as votive hearts, &c., are hung up in Italian churches at the present day; and, when there was no more space for new offerings, the old were removed to make way for them, and thrown outside the temple.

The tufa foundations described may well be connected with the temple

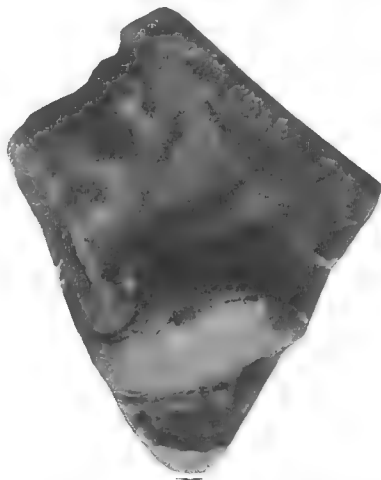


FIG. 5.—FRAGMENT OF POTTERY FROM TEMPLE NEAR PONTE DI NONA (exact size).

itself, but nothing can be determined on this point without an excavation of the site.

To the S.E. of this deposit of ex-votos are more worked stone blocks lying in the field, one of which is the half of an altar of the primitive type exemplified in the altars of Verminus (*Bull. Com.* 1876, 24, Lanciani, *Ancient Rome*, p. 52) and of Veiovis (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2387, found at Bovillae in 1826), the top measuring 0.595 by 0.765 m.¹

On the south side of this hill, overlooking the road, there is a regular necropolis of tombs in opus quadratum and brickwork. Among the bricks I found the stamps *C.I.L.* xv. 188, 652 (of 123-141 A.D.) and another (fragmentary) of 134 A.D. on a roof-tile. The presence of a considerable amount of painted plaster and marble mosaic cubes may point to the existence of a villa here also.

Still on the N. side of the modern road, just at the thirteenth kilomètre stone, is a large group of tombs in opus quadratum of tufa and peperino. They fall into two lines, between which, just N. of its present course, the road ran.² Most of them are small chambers 3 or 4 mètres square: sometimes two are placed side by side. At the W. end of the group is one, formed of a mass of concrete faced with blocks of peperino, the ends of which tail into the concrete mass. At the E. end of the group is an *ustrinum* about 20 mètres square, which, in so far as its plan goes, is perfect. Several of the coping blocks of its ringwall, rounded at the top, lie about. The whole necropolis will probably soon fall a prey to the destruction caused by the cultivation of the fields.

After passing the *ustrinum* the pavement of the ancient road is seen crossing a ditch, still to the N. of the modern road. On each side blocks of tufa about 2 feet in thickness, which seem to be the *crepidines* or kerbstones, still exist, and give the width of the road as 9.20 m. (?), no less than double its width further on. About 200 yards further is another large group of tombs in opus quadratum, between which the road ran. It soon, however, falls into the present line again, as shortly before reaching the fourteenth kilomètre five small tombs in opus quadratum are seen just on the S. side of the present line. Some 500 yards S. of these is a tomb mound and many paving stones, belonging to the road mentioned on p. 176.

¹ Other examples of altars of this type are mentioned in *Bull. Com.* 1897, 164.

² It is in my opinion quite certain that the ancient road ascended almost straight from Ponte di Nona, not curving, as the modern road does, round the hill at the E. end of the bridge.

Opposite to these tombs a track runs off N.N.W. About 250 yards after it leaves the highroad, an ancient road, the pavement of which can be clearly distinguished (the width is not more than 3.60 m.), diverges from it N.E. by N. and runs for three or four hundred yards up to a large "capanna" (shepherds' hut). Here it suddenly disappears, and there are no further traces of paving stones, or even of the *agger* of the road, except two tufa blocks running N. and S. just behind the capanna, which may possibly belong to one of its crepidines.

The main track, however, continues in its former direction and soon reaches a bank, along which it runs: and, as the bank contains many paving stones, some apparently *in situ*, it seems clear that this too is an ancient road. The ruin some way to the W. is a water reservoir in selce concrete, without buttresses, measuring roughly 40 by 20 feet. This line after about 1200 m. from the highroad falls into that of a modern field-wall, which is, however, full of ancient paving stones: and it is noteworthy that in the Campagna the modern boundaries are frequently neither more nor less than the lines of ancient roads, all traces of which would otherwise have perished. The road probably continued along this line for some way, and then descended into the valley to the W. of it, somewhere opposite the Casale Benzoni: the precise point is doubtful, for paving stones and fragments of brick lie all about on the slope of the hill. To the N.E. of and below the Casale is the meeting point of another road with the Via Collatina, into which this one, coming along the valley, would fall (p. 145).

Somewhere in this district, we are told, "in the tenuta of Tor Sapienza, about two miles from Gabii"—on the N. side of the road, therefore, and about ten miles from Rome, was found the bust of Geta, published by Guattani, *Memorie enciclopediche per l'anno 1817*, p. 129, tav. xx.

Returning to the highroad, almost due S. of the fourteenth kilomètre stone is a large tomb mound, with fragments of marble scattered about it. The ancient road is at this point again slightly to the N. of the modern, as is shown, not only by the position of the tombs, but by the presence of paving stones and of the *agger* of the road itself.

At this point, just to the W. of a villa by the high road, another road must have diverged almost due N.; for at a distance of about 130 yards there are two tombs in opus quadratum, one of which measures 3.70 m. square inside, the blocks that form its walls being 59 cm. thick. The base moulding is still well preserved. Lying loose in the field is a tombstone of

the type which appears in the cemetery of the Legio II. Parthica at Albano, and is not uncommon in the Campagna. It is about six feet in length and two in height and width, rounded at the top, with a tablet on one side for the inscription. Further on are some heaps of paving stones extracted from the spot in the course of ploughing, and other remains of tombs, among which is a large gutter cut in three blocks of tufa 62 cm. wide, and having a total length of 4.35 m. The gutter, which is 30 cm. wide, turns at right angles at each end: probably it ran round the outside of one of these small square tombs. After this point the road disappears. It is pointing straight for the capanna behind which the road mentioned on p. 175 above is lost.

Close to the highroad, on the N., about 300 m. further on, is a brick tomb in two stories; the lower chamber is square, and has a cinerary urn (like that of a columbarium) placed under the spring of each arch of the vaulting of the side niches, so that in each corner pillar there are two urns built into the brickwork. Just after the fifteenth kilomètre the modern road descends steeply in a curve. The ancient road followed a straight course.

The Osteria dell' Osa marks the most important meeting point of by-roads along the whole course of the Via Praenestina. There are, in the first place, two diverticula coming from the Via Labicana. The first, as already stated (p. 168), leaves it a little beyond the eighth mile and runs almost straight in a N.E. direction to the Osa. That this road is ancient is shown by its directness of line, by the cuttings which take it through the hills, by the paving stones which exist (though not *in situ*) along its course, and by the remains of ancient buildings which lie along it. Fabretti (*De Aquis et Aquaeductibus*, Diss. i. tab. i.) apparently intends to indicate this road when he marks "Via Vetus" to the S.W. of the Osteria dell' Osa, without giving its direction.

The second road is a continuation of the Via Cavona, the modern name of the road constructed by M. Valerius Messala Corvinus in order to facilitate communication between the Via Appia (which it leaves at the Osteria delle Frattochie, just below Bovillae) and the roads to the N.E. of it. Cf. Tibullus, i. 7, 57: *Nec taceant monumenta viae quam Tuscula tellus, candidaque antiquo detinet Alba lare*. It crosses the Via Latina at the tenth (ancient) mile at the Casale Ciampino, the Via Tuscolana at the Fonte Vermicino, just before it commences its steep ascent to Frascati, the Via Labicana a little way beyond the catacombs of St. Zoticus, and the

modern Via Casilina at the Osteria del Finocchio. So far it has been an important artery of communication, as is indicated by the number of ancient roads joining and diverging from it, and by the large quantity of villas and water reservoirs that are to be seen on each side of it. Between the Osteria del Finocchio and the Osteria dell' Osa, however, where the road runs nearly due N., there is not a single trace of antiquity, whereas the previous part of the road had preserved much of its pavement intact until a few years ago, and the stones may even now be seen built into the walls on each side. It is impossible to believe, however, that the road did not go beyond the Osteria del Finocchio, especially as at the Osa we find its direction continued by two other roads, one on each side of the Osa valley. The absence of any traces of antiquity is at the best a merely negative argument, and, in view of the continual destruction of ancient monuments, not a very strong one. It may be noted that Fabretti (*l. c.*), Ameti, and Cingolani mark the road as ancient.

A third ancient road ran above the W. bank of the Osa stream, following the line of a modern track, and passing two or three villas, to Collatia (p. 146). Whether it ever crossed the Anio to join the Via Tiburtina is doubtful. Another far more ancient road ran along the E. bank of the Osa to Collatia also (p. 149).

A fifth ancient road is that now represented by the modern Via di Poli, which runs to Le Cappannelle below Corcolle, another important road centre of this district. A tomb may be traced on its W. edge just beyond the seventeenth kilomètre. In *Not. Scav.* 1885, 426, traces of ancient pavement are spoken of as existing at the nineteenth kilomètre; they had been noticed long before by Nibby¹ (*Schede*, iii. 28), but are now no longer visible. Close to the Casale Granaraccio, two kilomètres further on, are the remains of a tomb, and in the cutting before the descent to Le Cappannelle, which has been widened and deepened in modern times, there are on the left several paving stones certainly *in situ* and traces of tombs also, so that the antiquity of the road cannot be doubted. About a mile almost due N. of the seventeenth kilomètre stone on this road, by a "capanna" at a point marked 72 m. above sea-level on the staff map (sheet marked Colonna 1: 25,000), there has recently been discovered a remarkable grotto excavated in the rock. A short descrip-

¹ The reference is to a quantity of MS. notes, containing Nibby's diaries of excursions in the Campagna, which I purchased at the sale of the library of Count Virginio Vespignani in 1900.

tion of it has been given by Lanciani in *Bull. Com.*, 1899, 40.¹ Above ground are the scanty remains of an extensive villa. Descending through a lighthole by a ladder, a long lofty passage, about 3 feet wide and quite 20 feet high, is entered: the floor of it descends steeply (the flight of steps which probably exists is covered with débris) and the roof, which is formed by the rock itself, except at the upper end, where the passage is covered by converging tiles, drops in level at intervals to correspond. The ancient entrance cannot have been far beyond the lighthole, as on one side of the passage there is a cutting in the rock for a door (?), while the other side begins to be formed by brickwork. At present the passage descends in a N.W. by N. direction for 20 m., and then suddenly decreases to 1·80 m. in height. Above the opening is a painting about 60 cm. wide by 1·30 m. high, on a white ground (Fig. 6). Hercules is represented seated upon his lionskin on a rock with his club by his left side, and a cup in his right hand. He is nude, with blue drapery lying over his thighs, and crowned with a garland, and his skin is represented as much bronzed. He seems to be offering the cup to a Cupid higher up on the left, crowned with flowers, with blue draperies flying behind him and bearing a wreath. Immediately above Hercules is a winged Victory, with an upper garment of blue, and an under garment of brown, also crowned with flowers, and holding a garland in front of her with both hands. Above is an eight-pointed star, black and yellow.² The painting is in fairly good, free style; the field is surrounded by a black line. The surface of the rock is very uneven, and has not been smoothed before being stuccoed.

Over the arch itself are traces of painting. Beyond this picture the passage (which has quite recently been cleared out) continues for 41 m., with a height of about 1·80 and a width of about 0·90, and then ends abruptly. The grotto must be the shrine of some secret worship, or at least of some cult practised by preference underground. The prevalence of such cults in this district is illustrated by the following funeral inscription, which I copied near the Osteria dell' Osa (published in *Bull. Com.* 1899, 41 from my copy). It is cut on a slab of white marble 35 × 45 × 3 cm. The letters are 35 mm. high in the first three lines, 25 in the last four,

¹ See also the same author's *New Tales of Old Rome*, p. 192.

² This star is not shown in the engraving, as it did not appear in the photographs from which this was made.



FIG. 6.—PAINTING IN THE "GROTTA DI SAPONARA."

and their style is that of the second or third century. It had, however, been used in a later burial, and was placed, with the letters downwards, under the head of a corpse. The letters themselves are still filled with cement.

·D· ɔ̄ ·M·
 VERVS SACERDOS
 LIBERI PATRIS·ITEM·SOLIS IN
 VICTI·DOMVM AETERNAM·
 BAEBIAE·BERAE MATRI·ET·BAEBIAE
sic TROFIMENI SORORI·ET·PACCIAE SAL
sic SAL·VISTIAE CONIVGI·SE VIVO SVIS
sic ET POSTERISQVE AEORVM·FECIT·

Between Ponte di Nona and the Osteria dell' Osa (no further details are given) was found an altar dedicated to Hercules (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2789=vi. 341), and a fragment of a slab bearing a dedication to a deity whose name has perished (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2792).

V.—GABII AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

Just after the Osteria dell' Osa the ancient *Via Praenestina* leaves the modern carriage road (which, as has been said, follows the line of an ancient one) on the left. In *Not. Scavi*, 1889, 83, a description is given of the discoveries made when the drainage channel of the (now dry) lake of Gabii was enlarged. At a distance of 64·60 m. from the bridge of the modern road over this small stream, and at a depth of 4·50 m. below the present surface of the ground, was found a tree trunk 3 m. long by 85 cm. wide, hollowed out and used as a sarcophagus (now preserved in the Museum of the Villa Papa Giulio). Within were the remains of the skeleton, and some traces of ivory and amber. The tree trunk was placed in a rectangular ditch cut in the rock, only about half as deep as the diameter of the tree trunk, and leaving a space 25 cm. wide at the sides, and 80 cm. wide at the end where the feet of the dead man lay. In the space at the end various pieces of ancient hand-made bucchero, two Chalcidic vases with faint geometric ornamentation, and a bronze cup were found. Some of the pieces of bucchero resembled those of the most ancient portion of

the Esquiline necropolis, and of the tombs "a fossa" of the Faliscan cemeteries. There was also a large amphora of whitish earth, certainly not of local workmanship. The pottery and the tree trunk were covered with fine earth, and then with stones to the depth of 80 cm.

Twenty-one mètres further from the modern road the ancient Via Praenestina appeared, its section being found in the cutting. Its precise direction is, unfortunately, not specified in this account, but clearly it must have made a fairly sharp turn here.¹ For, 180 mètres further up the overflow channel of the lake, on its N.E. bank, where it emerges from a rock-cut tunnel, there is visible a wall of two courses of two-foot blocks of tufa, running, for a length of 15 m. at the least, 40° E of S. This is, apparently, the supporting wall of the road on its S.W. side. Shortly afterwards, about 100 yards from the Casetta del Pescatore, the N. *margo* of the ancient road begins to appear in the modern mule path, running 7° S. of E.; after 70 paces the road turns S.E. by E. and continues to run in this direction past the Casetta del Pescatore, where the basin of the Lake of Gabii first comes into view. Here the pavement is 4·30 m. (14½ feet) wide between the *crepidines*, which are of oblong blocks of selce with round masses at intervals of from 3·50 to 4 m. The reasons for these sharp turns in the ancient road cannot be determined with certainty. It is possible that they were due to a desire to cross the Osa stream at right angles and to the difficulties of dealing with the *emissarium* of the lake.

As to the antiquity of the lake itself there is considerable controversy. It is mentioned by no classical author, and is first alluded to in the Acts of St. Primitivus (*Acta SS. Jun. T. ii. 148*). Kircher supposed it to be Lake Regillus, but this is, for many reasons, impossible (see *Rendiconti dell' Acc. dei Lincei*, 1898, pp. 114, 115, *Classical Review*, 1898, 470). Canina (*Edifici*, v. p. 91 note 10) states that, in the excavation of a new emissarium under his supervision in 1838² traces of the ancient one were discovered, which proved that in ancient times no lake was allowed to exist; only in the Middle Ages, when the emissarium became choked, was the centre of the basin converted into a lake. Further, he remarks that the baths of Gabii

¹ In January 1902 I was able, after a good deal of rain had fallen, to find the point at which the Via Praenestina crosses the Osa stream itself, a little way further W. This is 67·80 m. to the S. of the bridge of the modern highroad, but there are no indications of the existence of a bridge on the ancient road, and the course of the stream has very likely changed. One or two pavingstones are to be seen in each bank of the stream, and remains of tombs on the S. side of the road. It was apparently running 10° S. of E.

² Cf. *Ann. Inst.* 1840, 33.

could never have become celebrated had the stagnant lake been there to spread unhealthiness.¹ Fea (*Gabio*, p. 25) on the other hand, is inclined to suppose that the baths were taken in the lake itself. Neither of the arguments adduced by Canina is sufficient to prove his point; for the emissarium may perfectly well have served to keep the water of the lake at a certain level without necessarily being intended to exhaust it altogether: in fact, as the lake was certainly fed by springs, which are still in existence, it must have been necessary to provide an overflow channel. But without further particulars it is not easy to judge what is the value of his opinion. The basin itself is clearly an extinct crater. Kiepert, in his map of Latium, calls it "lacus novicius," relying presumably on Canina.

After the Casa del Pescatore, on the right, is a square tomb of rough opus incertum on a brick base 4.30 m. wide. Near the spring of the barrel vault of the interior are four small niches 29 cm. wide with a small semi-circular arch above each. Shortly after passing it is seen the line of the diverticulum mentioned by Fea (*Gabio*, p. 10)² as diverging at this point, and running across the plain of Pantano to join the Via Labicana: in his time it was partly paved, but now all traces of pavement have disappeared, though its line may be clearly seen in the field. A little way beyond again is a mound (point 88 on the map) which may have been a tomb (Nibby, *Analisi* ii. 83), but is more likely to be a heap of quarry rubbish.

The road now skirts the S. bank of the lake running upon a shelf cut in the rock (sperone), and soon passes below the famous temple (Fig. 7), which, on the strength of Virgil's (*Aen.* vii. 682) *arva Gabinae Iunonis* (cf. Sil. Ital. xii. 537: *Iunonis tecta Gabinae*), has generally been called the temple of Juno, though Canina³ prefers to attribute it to Apollo, quoting Livy xli. 16: *Gabiis aedem Apollinis et privata aedificia complura . . . de caelo tacta*, and remarking also that it faces E. (really S.E.). It was peripteral, without portico (according to Canina). As to the style of the columns there is considerable question. Canina follows Ciampini (*Vetera Monumenta*, i. p. 4 tab. i.) who says: *sicuti et ante ingressum duas columnas ordinis Corinthii ex illorum fragmentis, quae in proximo reperta sunt, olim stetisse censemus*. Visconti, on the other hand, thought the base and imoscape Doric (*Mon. Gabini*, tav. i. B 1 and p. 17); while Gell (*Environs of*

¹ In these same works (according to *Bull. Inst.* 1845, 53) the conduit which conveyed the water to the baths was actually discovered.

² Compare, however, p. 185, n. 1.

³ *Edifici*, v. p. 92: cf. vi. tav. 110 for plan.

Rome, p. 265) and Nibby (*Analisi*, ii. 85) believed the decorations to be Ionic. From Visconti's drawing it would seem that there was a mixture of styles. The base looks Doric, while the fluting does not (cf. Abeken, *Ann. Inst.*, 1840, p. 31). The whole was constructed of blocks of Gabine stone (sperone), which was extensively used in Roman times (Strabo, v. 3. 10, p. 238),¹ originally covered with stucco, and now of a beautiful brown



FIG. 7.—THE TEMPLE AT GABIL.

colour. The front and side walls are the thickness of a single block (0·585–0·595 m.) and 14 courses are preserved, each 0·55–0·595 m. in height, giving a total height (as at present existing) of 28 feet. The blocks are of various lengths. The whole cella² measures 13·54 by 8·38 m. inside: the doorway is 2·38 m. wide. Spurwalls project 2·14 m. on each side of the back wall, which is 1·15 m. thick. The floor was paved with white mosaic of "palombino"³ (now almost completely destroyed), assigned by those

¹ See also Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 43. 4.

² See plan, Fig. 8.

³ A white marble from Asia Minor (marmor coralliticum, Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 62).

who saw it to the time of Hadrian : the tesserae are 5 to 10 mm. square by 15 mm. deep, and not very carefully set. At a distance of 1·87 m. from

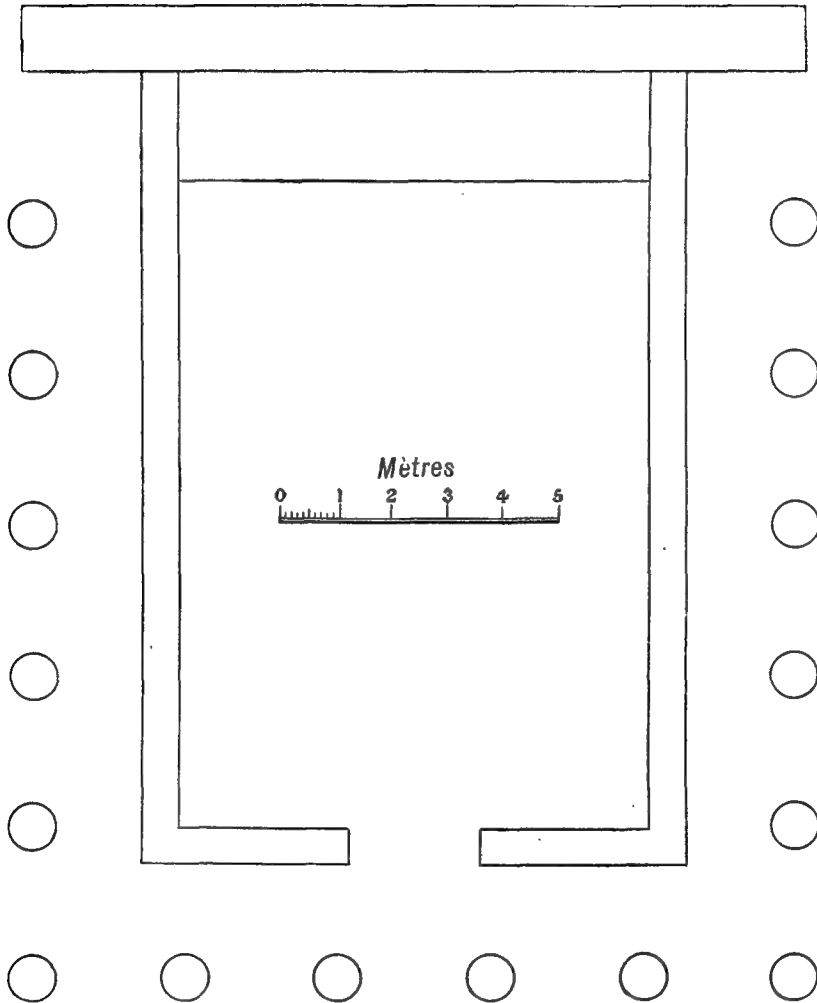


FIG. 8.—PLAN OF TEMPLE, GABII.

the back wall of the cella is a stone ledge in which Nibby and Abeken were able to trace holes, intended to support a railing with three entrance spaces, which divided the cella from the sacrarium proper, the latter being

at a slightly higher level. On the outside of the back wall is seen the fine simple podium moulding (Fig. 9).

The diameter of a drum of one of the columns is 0·78 m. : the flutings are 0·06 in depth, and ·14 from centre to centre. There were probably six in front of the temple and six on each side, but none were found *in situ*, and the stylobate has disappeared.

The temple was surrounded on three sides by Doric colonnades (Visconti, *Monumenta Gabini*, tav. i. B. 2), the columns of which measured 0·42 in diameter. At the S.E. end (according to Visconti, p. 15 n. 38 and frontispiece: no traces of them now exist) a semi-circular flight of steps descended towards the highroad. The foundations of the chambers surrounding the colonnades are composed partly of blocks of stone 0·40 m. in width, and partly of the solid rock, which has been hewn in conformity with the plan.

The Forum lay a little way to the E. of the temple, between it and the church of St. Primitivus, on the N. side of the road, and fronting right upon it.

No traces of it now remain above ground, but the site is fixed by the fact that here alone does the boundary line of the Borghese property cross the road, so as to include a narrow strip on the N. side.¹ A plan (reproduced in Fig. 10) is given by Visconti (*Monumenti Gabini*, tav. i. Fig. C). The temple lies beyond the line, in the Azzolini property (Visconti, *Monumenti Gabini*, p. 15, note 37; cf. Canina, *Edifizi*, vi. tav. 109). The N.W. end of the Forum was occupied by the Curia, which in Hadrian's honour received the name Aelia Augusta, and to the N.E. of it stood a small Augusteum² over the door of which was placed *C.I.L.* xiv. 2795, a dedication *in honorem memoriae domus Domitiae*³ *Augustae Cn. Domiti Corbulonis*

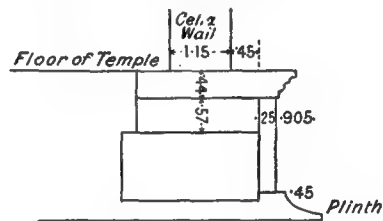


FIG. 9.—MOULDING OF PODIUM AT BACK OF TEMPLE, GABII.

¹ It is curious that the boundary line should not follow the Via Praenestina here as elsewhere, and an examination of the fieldwall which marks it shows that it is full of pavingstones. Probably, therefore, a road ran E. from the temple, parallel at first to the highroad, then crossing it S. of the church, and then turning S.S.E. The existence of the section S. of the highroad is certain, for its pavement, 2·90 m. in width, with crepidines 45 cm. in width on each side, can still be followed for some way. We were told that on the further side of Pantano it could be seen E. of Monte Falcone going towards Colonna. It, or that mentioned p. 194, n. 2, may be the road spoken of by Fea (*Gabio*, 10) as crossing the basin of Pantano.

² Numbered respectively 2 and 3 in Visconti's plan.

³ The wife of Domitian.

fil(iae). This is the view of Visconti. Canina (*Edifizi*, v. p. 92, n. 11) maintains that this small chamber cannot have been an Augusteum, which should have stood opposite to the Curia.

A little way to the E. of the Forum Canina marks baths in his plan. Of these no traces are now visible, and no description of them exists. We know that in the excavations of 1792 five lead water-pipes were found (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2815-2819=xv. 7832, 7861b, 7863, 7864, 7868a), the first of

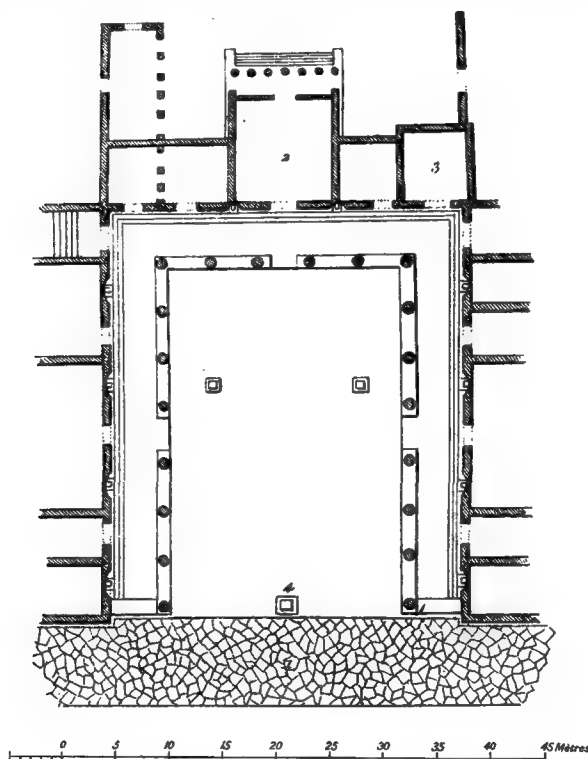


FIG. 10.—PLAN OF THE FORUM, GABII.

which bears the inscription : *Aurelius Alexander prox(imus) ab epistul(is) Lat(inis) ; Digitius fecit*, while the other four give merely the name of the maker of the pipe. Unfortunately, we have no details as to the precise locality of their discovery, so that we cannot tell what was the property of which Aurelius Alexander was the owner. Other buildings in the neighbourhood are spoken of vaguely by Visconti (*op. cit.* p. 19), in the ruins

of one of which were found two fine columns of "alabastro rosso fiorito" which passed into the possession of Pope Pius VI., also a bust of Gordianus Pius III. (*op. cit.* p. 36 and tav. vi., No. 14), while in another building was found a mosaic pavement, which was bought by "Milord Harvey Conte di Bristol" (*op. cit.* p. 19, n. 48).

The Greek sepulchral inscription Kaibel, *I.G.I.* 1319 was also found in the neighbourhood at the same period.

All these facts were elicited by the excavations of 1792, directed by Gavin Hamilton, and fully described, with plans and illustrations, by Visconti (*op. cit.*). Hamilton had already tried his fortune in this district in 1778, when a statue of Diana was found "at the Lago di Castillione amongst ruins of antient baths," according to a note under a drawing of the head of the statue in the Townley collection, now preserved in the Students' Room of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum (portfolio marked "Drawings from various antiquities"; shelf-mark 59 e). Before 1792, the site of Gabii, though sufficiently clearly indicated by the Itineraries and by ancient authors as lying half-way between Rome and Praeneste, at a distance of about 12 miles from Rome (Roma Via Praenestina—XII—Gabios—XI—Praeneste; cf. Appian, *Bell. Civ.* v. 23, Strabo v. 3. 10. p. 238, Dionysius iv. 53: the last two of these writers estimate the distance at 100 stadia = $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles, which is almost exactly correct), had not infrequently been misplaced, especially by the early topographers. The first propagator of error was Raphael Volaterranus, who (in his *Commentaria Urbana*, lib. vi. f. 77', ed. 1506) placed it at Zagarolo, and was followed by Pirro Ligorio, while Biondo (*Italia Illustrata*, Basileae, 1559 pp. 320, 326) preferred Gallicano. Hamilton's discoveries, however, set the question at rest. The inscriptions and statues of the Forum were discovered in full number, and the former are of especial interest. Some of these objects still remain in the Villa Borghese, others were carried off to the Louvre, and have not returned to Italy. (Lanciani, *New Tales of old Rome*, p. 307.) A letter from Hamilton to Charles Townley (probably) giving some account of his excavations is published by A. H. Smith in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xxi. p. 318.

This spot, however, the centre of the life of Gabii under the Empire, did not, in all probability, fall within the compass of the ancient city. As is almost invariably the case, we find that the Roman town when founded was placed in a spot far less capable of defence, in order to obviate

the possibility of a revolt of the inhabitants, while the citadel was dismantled and abandoned, probably coming, in the end, to serve as the site of some rich man's villa. Before proceeding to examine the remains of the ancient city, which stretched along the E. bank of the lake up to the tower of Castiglione, the probable site of the arx, it may be well to sketch briefly the history of Gabii, as far as it is known to us (a good general account is given in *C.I.L.* xiv. p. 278).

The part played by Gabii in the story of the expulsion of the Tarquins is well known. But the claim of Gabii to appear in the earliest history of Rome, rests not merely on this traditional history, but on other evidence; the continuance of certain ancient usages, *e.g.* the adoption of the *cinctus Gabinus* by the consul when war was to be declared, the opposition between *ager Romanus* and *ager Gabinus* in the augural law (cf. Varro, *L.L.* v. 33), and the formulae of cursing for Gabii (Macrob. *Sat.* iii. 9. 13). We hear of an alliance with Rome (Paul: *ad Fest.* p. 56, Dionysius iv. 58)¹ made in the time of Tarquinius Superbus, which must have followed this period of hostility (Hor. *Epist.* ii. 1. 25), and coins struck by C. Antistius Vetus (iii. vir monetalis in B.C. 18) bear on their reverse the legend *foedus p(opuli) R(omani) qum Gabinis*. It is noteworthy that Dionysius (iv. 57) speaks of Antistius Petro as a chief of Gabii deceived by Sextus Tarquinius, so that the Antistii were a family, in all probability, of Gabine origin. It was so far only, as the earlier name Via Gabina (p. 128) shows, that the road originally led. The subsequent history of the town is, for a long period,² quite unknown: it is doubtful when it became Roman: and it is only in the first century B.C. that we find it again spoken of, as quite a small place, hardly able to send representatives to the Latin festival (Cic. *Pro Planc.* 9, 23). The poets, in fact, made it a byword for desolation. Horace, *Epist.* i. 11, 7, speaks of *Gabiis desertior atque Fidenis vicus*. Cf. also Propertius, v. 1. 34, Lucan, vii. 392, Juvenal, iii. 191, vi. 56, x. 100. But a truer picture of its condition is given by Dionysius, iv. 53: *νῦν μὲν οὐκέτι συνοικουμένη πᾶσα πλὴν ὅσα μέρη πανδοκεύεται κατὰ τὴν δίοδον*: in other words, it became simply a small place on the highroad, upon the very edge of which its Forum lay. This is borne out by the fact that the corporation of *tabernarii*, who elsewhere were not held in great consideration, received

¹ According to Dionysius, the text of the treaty, written on a bullock's skin, was preserved to his day in the temple of Semo Sancus on the Quirinal. Cf. Mommsen, i. 280.

² Its mention in the treatise *De Coloniis as muro ducta colonia* has not, in view of the character of that treatise, any historical value (*C.I.L.* xiv. p. 278 n. 5).

in a distribution of *sportulae* little less than the decuriones and Augustales, their share being eleven sesterces each, as against fifteen and thirteen respectively (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2793). At first sight, indeed, an examination of the inscriptions would lead one to suppose that in the first and second centuries of the empire the prosperity of Gabii was quite considerable. There was certainly some degree of well-being. From the time of Augustus (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2801), or at any rate of Tiberius (*ib.* 2802), to that of Elagabalus (*ib.* 2809), the town enjoyed a municipal organization. Public works and games are spoken of; the curia was adorned with a considerable number of statues of members of the imperial house, and Hadrian appears in the inscriptions as a special benefactor, the Curia being called after him Aelia Augusta. Further, we learn from Horace (*Epist.* i. 15, 9) and Juvenal (*ll. cc.*) that the baths of Gabii were well known in their day.

This prosperity, however, was probably to some extent fictitious. The impression given by the inscriptions is about as far removed from the truth on one side, as the exaggerated language of the poets is on the other. Had the Forum of Tusculum been found, like that of Gabii, untouched by the spoiler's hand, the harvest would probably have been far richer there. Like Fidenae, to which Horace most aptly compares it, it became a small roadside village, and it was to its position that it owed, if not its existence, at any rate the greater part of such prosperity as it continued to enjoy.

We may now pass on to the remains of the primitive city. Proceeding northwards from the temple in the direction of the arx for about 500 yards, a mound is reached (perhaps a tumulus), upon which in March 1896 we found many fragments of black glazed (so-called Campanian) pottery. Just N. of this mound in 1885 Pasqui and Cozza observed two fragments of wall on each side of the rock-cut road, the probable site of a gate giving access to the city.

The blocks of stone, which are better cut than those of the rest of the walls, and smaller, measured 1·05 to 1·35 m. long and 45 cm. high, and the wall was 1·85 m. thick, with headers and stretchers in alternate courses. To the N. of this wall (the western portion of which is still preserved) a narrow neck has been formed by deep cuttings on each side. See *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1885, 424, and tav. xiii. where a description and plan (neither very complete) of the existing remains of Gabii and of its immediate neighbourhood are given.

From this point starts a remarkable ancient road, the prolongation of which ran along the S. edge of the crater through the Roman city, passing S. of the temple and joining the Via Praenestina just W. of it (cf. Canina, *Edifizi*, vi. tav. 109). The road itself runs almost due N. for about 450 m. It is a causeway, left untouched by quarrying operations, with a road track about two mètres wide and one deep cut in it, and formed the *cardo* of the city. A portion of it is shown in Fig. II.



FIG. II.—ANCIENT ROAD, GABIL.

About 200 yards further on, below the road, upon a shelf left by quarrying operations, is a modern hut village (Fig. 12) which is, however, remarkable as a survival of the earliest type of settlement. See Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, Fig. 45 (and p. 114), for the photograph of a precisely similar village on the W. side of the lake, on the left bank of the Osa stream. Close to this, high up on the bank of the lake, is a small fragment of the primitive city wall. Two courses of rough opus quadratum of local stone are preserved; the blocks in each course are about 33 cm. in height, and go up to 90 cm. in length. Further on is another longer fragment, the blocks of which only just appear above

the surface of the ground ; the line may in fact be traced along the edge of the lake for most of the way to the tower. Neither of these two pieces of wall is mentioned in the *Notizie degli Scavi*. Both of them are running N. by W.

To the N.W. of the tower is a large piece of wall (Fig. 13), an angle formed by two lines, running respectively 15° W. of N. for 8.60 m. and due W. for 9.95 m. The wall measures 1.70 m. in thickness.



FIG. 12.—HUT VILLAGE, GABII.

There are three foundation courses, 0.55, 0.50, 0.63 high respectively. Then come four courses of good masonry, alternately of stretchers and headers. The blocks are 0.45 m. in height and breadth on the average, while the stretchers vary in length from 1.15 to 1.77 m. Most of the mortar between the blocks was inserted when the wall was rebuilt in the Middle Ages. Above these again comes the irregular masonry of a mediaeval restoration, the blocks of the old wall being used again, with a great deal of mortar laid between them. Fig. 13 shows the three different styles of masonry

very clearly. This is the most conspicuous relic of the walls of Gabii, but in the article of the *Notizie* already cited it is not even mentioned. As the writers of that article can hardly have failed to see it, it must be assumed that they believed it to be of purely mediaeval origin.



FIG. 13.—ANGLE OF CITY WALL, GABII.

The fortress of Castiglione, a view of which is given in Lanciani, *New Tales of old Rome*, p. 307, was of considerable importance in the Middle Ages: and it is impossible not to suppose that it was the arx of the ancient city. Though its height is not so noticeable from the immediate neighbourhood, it is surprising from how many distant points it is visible, and its position on the edge of the lake, when strengthened by the

addition of walls, must have been a formidable one. On the E., too, the ground slopes away quite steeply, the large foundation blocks of the walls being visible at several points, and the rock has been cut perpendicularly by quarrying. On the S. there was nothing but the artificially narrowed neck by which the road entered, and the only weak side was the N., where, however, quarrying operations had done a good deal to minimise the danger. One of these quarries, 150 m. to the N. of the tower, was used in late Roman times as the lowest story of some building, being divided with walls and cemented. Close to this are two circular cisterns cut in the rock and cemented, the age of which is doubtful.

Further E., at the top of the slope down to the Fosso di San Giuliano, and starting from a point about 100 yards N.E. of the tower of Castiglione, from which it is separated by a quarry, there is a line of blocks of stone, evidently the worn foundation of a wall of opus quadratum, running in a N.N.W. direction for a distance of about 150 paces. This must belong to some large building outside the limits of the city, or possibly to a road. At a distance of about 175 m. to the E. of the tower, Pasqui and Cozza observed remains which they took to be those of the walls of the ancient Latin town. One side of the wall appeared just above ground, at the top of the slope down to the stream, the other was buried under a small hillock, possibly originated by quarry refuse. The blocks were of Gabine stone and measured 64 cm. by 1·37 m. and 60 cm. by 1·45 (*Not. Scav. l. c.* no. 1 on plan). They are a part of the foundations of the city walls on the E. side. Further traces are to be seen more to the S., running almost as far as the point at which the road described on p. 190 enters the city.

From this point, just to the N. of a large new barn, a road descends steeply to the valley to the E. and ascends on the opposite side, where its selce pavement is still well preserved. Whether after reaching the plateau it ran E. to join the road to Passerano, or whether it ran N. or S. along the edge of the cliff, is uncertain; two tombs at the top of the ascent, orientated N. and S., seem to favour the latter supposition, but it is not unlikely that a branch ran in either direction.

At the tower itself there are no traces of antiquity, except a large block of travertine measuring 935 by 605 mm. and 25 cm. thick, bearing the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2820. As the text is not quite correctly given in the *Corpus*, the compilers of which do not seem to have known that the

inscription was still in existence at Gabii, I repeat it here. It was found in the tenuta of Castiglione.

LX·CLOVLIVS·P·F FAL·V·A·LXXXXV LVIA·CLOVLI·V·A
--

[S]ex(tus) Cloulius P(ubli) f(ilius)
 Fal(eria tribu) v(ixit) a(nnis) lxxxxv
 [C]luia Clouli v(ixit) a(nnis) . . .

The reading CLVIA is given by Amati. FVLVIA would be possible. The height of the letters in each line is respectively '085, '08, '07 m.

Returning to the Via Praenestina, we may observe on the left, just to the E. of the temple, other remains of the Gabii of the Empire. At point 62 on the map is a building with an apse constructed of alternate bands (three of each) of brick and opus reticulatum. The brickwork (Fig. 14) is so extraordinarily bad, that it is hard to believe that it can belong to the second century, but the presence of opus reticulatum is decisive.

This was converted into the church of St. Primitivus by the addition of a nave and tower dating perhaps from the eleventh century (for this church see Nibby, *Analisi*, ii. 86; Stevenson, *Cimitero di Zotico*, p. 55). Between this and the temple the ground is covered with bricks and marble, as if some building had been quite recently destroyed. Here we found a fragment of the brick-stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 2353,¹ and another unpublished stamp, which seems to read thus MIVLIM/. The letters are only 1 cm. in height, and the height of the stamp is 15 mm. Between this church and the temple Cozza and Pasqui found fragments of rough pottery, belonging possibly to the primitive necropolis of Gabii, and a new fragment of the Fasti Gabini (*C.I.L.* xiv, 4232).

Soon after passing the church the road crosses the Fosso di San Giuliano, and ascends steeply on its opposite bank.² The pavement of

¹ This stamp dates from the beginning of the second century A.D.

² Before the ascent begins, a road, the pavement of which is still well preserved for the most part (though in places it is covered by soil, and in others the stones have been removed for field-walls), diverges to the S., and runs in the direction of the Aqua Alexandrina, which it should cross a little to the W. of its springs, if indeed it does not turn down to them. I have not yet followed its whole course, but could see no place where it could pass under the aqueduct. To the prolongation of this, or to that mentioned in the footnote to p. 185, Ficoroni (*Labico*, 30) probably

the ancient road is visible just on the right of the present path.¹ At the foot of the hill, on the left, is a large oval tomb of opus reticulatum and quadratum. Just before the top of the hill is reached, a road diverges N.N.W. to a large villa of opus reticulatum on the edge of the hill, and apparently goes no further. Fifty yards further another road, almost as



FIG. 14.—APSE OF ST. PRIMITIVUS, GABIL.

wide as the Praenestina itself—3·55 m. as against 4·10 m.—diverges N.N.E. along a field-wall, which is the boundary of the Agro Romano (this boundary line very frequently follows ancient roads) until it reaches, at point 74, a road running eastwards to Passerano, which perhaps started

refers—“al quale (*i.e.* all' acquedotto) al fine dov' è una scaturigine d'acqua, l'antica selciata passa contigua.” (He is propounding a theory that the ancient road from Osteria del Finocchio to S. Cesareo ran in an absolutely straight line to the N. of the present road.)

¹ A wall of opus quadratum 90 cm. in width can be traced on the S. side—it was intended to support the earth above the road.

from Castiglione. This road has long been known to topographers, and is marked in the maps of Ameti (1693) and Cingolani (1704). According to the former it started from this point only. Its pavement is preserved in places, and the cuttings made for it in the hill-sides clearly indicate its course. Along it may be seen several tombstones of the type described on p. 175.

On each side of the Via Praenestina at the top of the hill are a few tombs in opus quadratum, and on the south side in the field are wall foundations of rough polygonal work of selce, which in places alternates with opus quadratum. Their general direction is shown on the map, though it was impossible to indicate the full extent of the N. most wall, which runs close to and almost parallel to the highroad for over 200 m. Whether they are remains of a primitive settlement is very doubtful, for the site is not one adapted for defence, except on the W. side, and there the wall does not run along the edge of the cliff, but a few yards back from it. Their nature must be left uncertain—they may be connected with roads—perhaps the long wall parallel to the highroad may have belonged to the earliest Via Praenestina. Just N. of the S. line are the remains of a large villa rustica in opus quadratum. It is worthy of note that Fabretti, Ameti, Cingolani, all mark here “Gabiorum rudera” in their maps. It is clear that the remains existing in their time (at the end of the seventeenth century) must have been a good deal more extensive than these which are now visible. They resemble those on the east slope of the hill on which stands Torre Iacova (p. 251).

Before leaving Gabii it may be well to give details of the discovery of a few inscriptions in this district. *C.I.L.* xiv. 2791: *Q. Veranius Mystis Silvano votum*, was seen about 1792 in a barn of the farm of Castiglione, with a headless statue of Silvanus, about three palms high, upon it. No. 2822 was found “in Via Praenestina in templo quodam deserto ad rivum nono ab urbe miliari” according to Metellus, who copied it early in the sixteenth century. Dessau, in commenting on the inscription, refers these words to the so-called Temple of Juno; but this is quite eleven miles distant from even the modern gate. Besides, the inscription is sepulchral, and “templum” is not infrequently used by sixteenth century archaeologists in the sense of tomb, especially in reference to the elegant brick tombs of the second and third centuries which resemble small temples. Ligorio in fact says that it was found “in Via Praenestina in certe ruine

di un sepolcro a molte miglia da Roma." No. 2824 was found in 1794 not far from the road, near Pantano (*i.e.* on the right) on the Cesi property in the excavation made by Principe Augusto. It belongs probably to the year 511 A.D., and is in honour of one Felix *v(ir) i(n)lustris ex consule ord(inarius)*. In a field wall close to the Temple of Juno Stevenson (*M.S. cit. f. 7*) copied the following inscription, cut upon a block of tufa similar to those of which the temple is built, but broken, and therefore measuring only 0.40 x 0.23 metres.

DE

Before the D he saw traces of a letter, either N or A: the lettering was very large. Here he also found two copies of the brick stamp C P EI SAB INI: and another fragment of an inscription /CRI/

In the collection of terra-cottas at Bâle are two pieces from Gabii (from the Horner and Müller collection) (1) Room I. 4 (Bernoulli, *Catalogue*, p. 22) Female head with laurel or olive garland, diadem and veil. The head is flat behind the veil, as if in relief: it is probably part of a statue, (2) Room I. 45 (*op. cit.* p. 31) left foot and sandal 0.245 m. in length.

VI.—FROM GABII TO CAVAMONTE

(*from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Milestone*).

On the opposite (S.) side of the Via Praenestina to Gabii lies the great plain known as Pantano (swamp). This large basin is probably of volcanic origin, and may have contained a lake in prehistoric times, which, however, owing to the small volume, perhaps, of the springs which fed it, never attained any very great depth; for the floor of the valley is absolutely flat, and its banks, on the W. side especially, are not of sufficient height to allow of any great depth of water being contained within them. That the Lake Regillus is to be placed here, in accordance with the nomenclature of the Staff Map (derived from a conjecture of Rosa's) is highly improbable (see *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, 1898, 120, *Classical Review*, 1898, 470). The basin was probably always somewhat swampy, as it is almost entirely barren of traces of antiquity. There are no bricks, no pottery, no signs of human habitation; almost the only remains are the aqueduct of the Aqua Alexandrina (the springs of which are now used for the Acqua Felice), which winds across the plain, adopting a sinuous course in order to keep on the boundary line between two properties, and a large quantity of paving

stones, especially near the farmhouse. None of these can be certainly said to be in position ; but besides the roads crossing Pantano from the Via Praenestina towards the Labicana, that running N.E. from the farmhouse towards the Via Praenestina, which it would join some way W. of I Cannelletti, is very likely ancient. At the Casale or farmhouse itself are fragments of marble columns, an oil-press bed, a handmill, &c., but where precisely they were found is quite uncertain.

In 1845 a very large number of votive terra-cotta objects, representing parts of the human form, faces, eyes, female breasts, membra virilia, hearts, feet, also various animals and the feet of oxen (like those found at Ponte di Nona, cf. p. 173), were discovered not far from the Casale of Pantano towards Rome, *i.e.* somewhere on the W. edge of this large basin (*Bull. Inst.* 1845, 52 ; Canina, *Edifizi*, v. p. 91, note 10). The deposit was supposed to have some connexion with the thermal waters of Gabii. Many of the objects were stolen by the "cicoriari" who found them, but as many more found their way to the Palazzo Borghese. In the tenuta was found the waterpipe *C.I.L.* xv. 7831.

The Via Praenestina descends gently. On the S. and parallel to it are the insignificant remains of an aqueduct, which must, however, have crossed the valley of the small stream which it here encounters at a height of 10 or 15 m. above ground. On the W. side of this valley the first traces appear, three or four low brick arches with piers of opus reticulatum, and on the E. side are similar remains. As far as can be seen, the width of the whole was about 1·20 m. It would go underground at about 75 m. above sea level, and probably it came from the springs of the Aqua Alexandrina to supply Gabii with water. Hadrian is mentioned in an inscription (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2797) as a benefactor in this respect, and this aqueduct may have been constructed by him (Nibby, *Analisi*, ii. 86).

Just before the little stream at the bottom of the valley is reached, on the S. side of the road, about 25 yards from it, I noticed lying in the field a half column of travertine 0·50 m. in diameter, bearing the following inscription.

III	·08	
M · PODILLI · M · F ·	·05	·80
N S A · C I L I Q · F	·05	
—CVR	·045	

The upper end is smooth, the lower broken off. The letters are well cut, and appear to belong to the first half of the seventh century of Rome : and I venture to suggest that this is possibly the thirteenth milestone of the Via Praenestina, restoring the text thus :

[x] iii | M. Podilli(us) M. f. | N. Sarcili(us) Q. f. | [aed. p] l. cur (averunt).

It is true that the thirteenth mile would fall about half a mile further towards Rome, but the milestone is lying quite loose in the field, so that its original position cannot be determined. The form of the stone (a half column) is also unusual. See my notice of the inscription in *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, 1900, 217, where a photograph is given.¹ For other milestones of the Republican period discovered in the neighbourhood of Rome see *Röm. Mittheilungen*, 1889, 83; 1895, 298. It is interesting to note that a document in the Archives of S. Prassede (Galletti, *Primicerio*, 284), dating from the year 1060, gives the following as the boundaries of a property :

Inter affines ab uno latere rivo sancti Iuliani et exinde revertitur per limite qui est super eadem rivum usque in Termuli et deinde pergente in plagam que vocatur Aura et per ipsa Aura ducente usque in silice antiqua que est intra Pantano. Et deinde per ipsa silice revertente in loco ubi dicitur Aqua Putea et exinde . . . in miliare et ab ipso miliare ambulaturi in superscripto rivo sancti Iuliani qui est

I doubt if Aqua Putea can refer to the Fontanile dell' acqua puzza (probably sulphureous, but I have not visited it) which lies in the Quarto di Corzano, over a mile to the E. of the Fosso di S. Giuliano. "Miliare" in all probability refers to the milestone of which we have been speaking which was very likely still *in situ*. Another document of the year 1186 belonging to the same Archives (*ibid.* 326) gives the same points as boundaries, omitting only the last (miliare).

Where the road crosses the valley its supporting wall in opus quadratum is well preserved. It now ascends again, first gradually, then more steeply, and reaches at I Cancellotti the level of 104 m. above the sea. The pavement is in fine preservation, and the width of the road is 4.16 m. (14 feet exactly) at one place on the ascent, and 3.90 m. (13 feet) at the top. On the

¹ The variations in the text here given are due to a more recent examination of the inscription. The gentile names seem to be unknown hitherto: N. is an abbreviation for the praenomen Numerius (Mommsen, *Röm. Forsch.* i. 19).

north of it lie two tombs, one in opus quadratum, the other in concrete, with a buried column of porta santa (Iasian) marble lying by it, and a small water reservoir. On the S. a road probably diverged to the springs of the Aqua Alexandrina, for, starting from them, a line of stones runs along the edge of the hill northwards for a distance of about 200 yards, resembling strongly the line of the supporting wall of a road. And from the top of the hill another road ran southwards along the ridge straight to the farm-

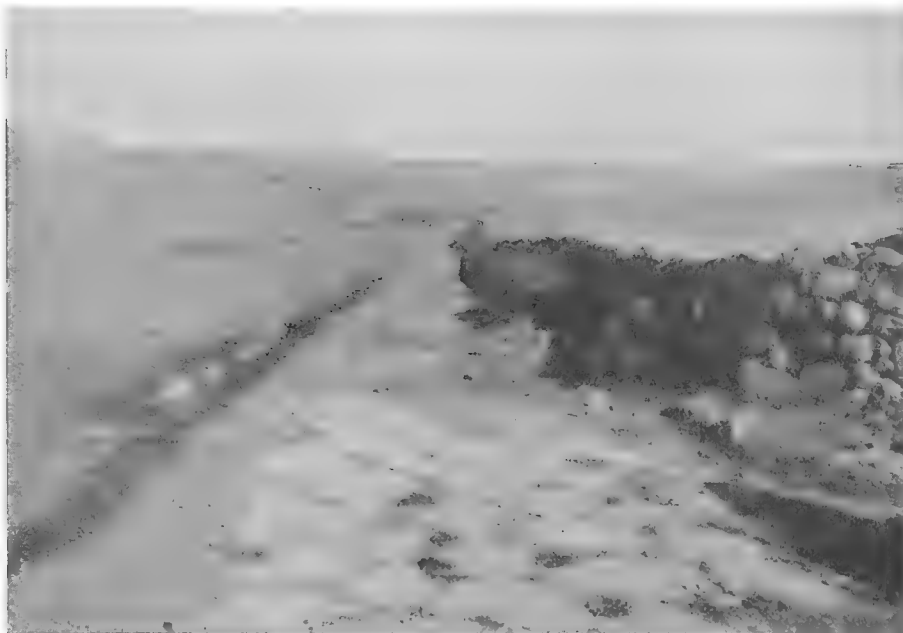


FIG. 15.—VIA PRAENESTINA AT I CANCELLETTI.

house called La Pallavicina, the pavement of which, as we were told on the spot, had only recently been removed. This road according to Fabretti (*De Aquis*, plan opp. p. 90) ran on to join the Via Labicana not far W. of S. Cesareo.

Other ancient roads apparently crossed the tenuta in various directions, to judge from the number of paving stones in the field walls near the farmhouse and from what we were told.¹ Some of them were probably con-


¹ In the Tenuta della Pallavicina was found a lead waterpipe, [Claudius Fel]icissimus fecit (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2777=xv. 7837 b)

nected with the service of the great aqueducts, considerable remains of which still exist above ground in this district ; a fact which, as far as I know, has not yet been observed, the generally prevalent idea having been that after Cavamonte, which is quite three miles further E., all trace of them is lost until they emerge at the well-known arches of Le Capannelle and Roma Vecchia, only seven miles from Rome itself. Of these remains I have given a short account in the *Classical Review* for July 1900, p. 325.



FIG. 16.—PONTE DI TERRA.

After I Cannelletti the road keeps along fairly on the level (Fig. 15) and crosses the Fosso della Pallavicina by a modern bridge, just to the N. of which is a tomb mound : the older bridge was just to the S. of the present. The pavement of the road is well preserved at this point and all the way up the next hill, which is short and fairly steep, the road rising thirty-nine mètres in about six hundred. At the top of the hill on the left of the road are the remains of a large villa with a floor of hard cement and a great many bits of marble and brick lying scattered about ; and about a

kilomètre to the N.N.W. are the arched substructures of another villa, where there was found recently a curious bronze object,¹ like a *simpulum*, shaped thus  with a small bowl (A) at the lower end.

The road now descends steeply again to the Ponte di Terra (about 115 m. above the sea-level). Here its original width was about 4.35 m., but it has been widened in Roman times to 6.50 m. or even more. The Ponte di Terra is an ancient bridge (Fig. 16), built of rectangular blocks of tufa, varying in height from 45 to 55 cm., and reaching 1.80 m. in length in some cases. The bridge has a span of 4.85 m. and is 6.45 m. wide; it is slightly askew with respect to the stream. Its height above the present bed is about 5.40 m., and its total length, including the bridge head at each end, is 16.20 m. Just after crossing it the road bends sharply to the S.E. and continues in the same direction for about a mile. Two tombs in opus quadratum are passed on the left at once, and a third is seen a little further up the hill, about 100 yards from the bridge, with a semi-circular niche in the middle of the front, which is 12 m. in length. At this point an ancient road, recognisable by the cutting 4 yards wide made for it through the hill, turns off to the N.E. and runs in all probability to Passerano.

The Via Praenestina follows the edge of the slope, supported on the S.W. by a wall of opus quadratum (the stone for which was apparently quarried on the spot, just below the road itself) until it reaches the top of the ridge, along which it runs upon an embankment. It would seem that the engineering here is at fault. The road is made to ascend steeply instead of sloping gradually up the side of the hill as the modern track does; or else the sharp turn and the steep ascent up the ridge might have been avoided by taking the valley just to the N.E.

At the top of the hill are the remains of a *villa rustica* in opus quadratum, with "grotti" cut in the rock to some depth, probably for the storage of water. The character of the building is indicated by the remains of an oil or wine-press bed. Further on is a large square tomb on the S.W. side of the road, built of blocks of stone 85 cm. thick: and a little way beyond on the N.E. side is the so-called "Grotta del Diavolo," apparently a small tomb chamber, entirely below ground, constructed of

¹ The sketch was made from the description given us; we did not see the object itself.

good brickwork and opus reticulatum. It is reached by a passage 6 m. long by 1·34 m. wide, descending fairly sharply; the flight of steps which originally gave access to it is buried. The chamber measures 3·58 m. long by 3·46 m. wide, and has a barrel vault of concrete, which has been left undecorated and still shows the marks of the boards used in setting it. The height from the spring of the vault to the crown is 2·06 m.; where the vault begins a brick cornice runs all round the walls, and the chamber is filled up to within 43 cm. of it, so that the original total height cannot be estimated.

A little way beyond this tomb the road returns to its original direction and keeps a little way S. of E. The pavement, as in the whole of this disused section between the Osteria dell' Osa and Cavamonte, is in a wonderful state of preservation.

Here a *deverticulum* turns off in a S.W. direction. Its pavement is still fairly well preserved, and its width is 2·50 m. (about 8½ feet). It goes over the hill, marking, as in so many cases, the boundary line between two fields even to this day, and probably runs back towards La Pallavicina.

Remains of two or three tombs are passed on the right, but there is nothing of any real importance.¹ A little way S. of a fountain on the right is the pavement of a road running E. and W. which may, however, have been relaid, and S. of this again in the bank of a stream is the specus of a small aqueduct, which diverged from the Anio Novus (to judge at least from the character of the water deposit) and supplied some villa. We soon come to a bridge over a stream which descends N. to Passerano.

The bridge itself is not ancient, but at the E. end on the S. side are remains of the wall of the head of the ancient bridge. The stream is crossed a little higher up by the two great bridges of the Aqua Claudia and the Anio Novus, marked on the Staff Map as "Ponte Diruto," as though there were but one bridge.

On its E. bank is the pavement of a road 2·50 m. in width, at first running twelve degrees E. of S. and then S.S.E. It is too high up to be connected with the aqueducts, and apparently runs up to the top of the hill, probably to a villa;² but on the N. it runs to the Via Praenestina and

¹ In this neighbourhood (on the Colle di Quadraversa, before reaching Colle Linaro) was found the sepulchral inscription of Sex. Pompeius Baebianus, *scriba quaestorius et aedilicius* (C.I.L. xiv. 2839).

² Fabretti (map opp. p. 90) makes it run to the eighteenth milestone of the Via Labicana, while Ameti takes it back to the Villa Strozzi on the hill W. of Zagarolo.

crosses it, turning then due N., at which point it is only 2·25 m. in width. Where it diverges there is a group of tombs, some of which were finely decorated with blocks of marble; others are roughly built of concrete, with flange tiles laid at the bottom and a gabled roof of two similar tiles.

The road led in the first instance to a large villa on the edge of the Colle Vigna, of the substructures of which (in opus reticulatum) considerable remains exist; and thence it must have gone on to join the road between Passerano and Cavamonte, which it crossed, ascending steeply through a rock cutting to the top of the hill (Colle Selva) on the further side of the road, where it reaches the remains of a villa rustica. Its further course I have not been able to explore.

The Via Praenestina soon turns further S., and after running in a S.E. direction for a little way,¹ comes quite close to the aqueduct of the Anio Novus, the specus of which is here at a level of about 176 m. above the sea.

The aqueduct keeps on the S. of the road, and both turn sharply E.N.E. The road which goes off at the corner in a S.S.W. direction is very likely ancient, as the pavement seems to indicate a divergence at this point. Nibby (*Analisi*, ii. 522) in his walk along it failed to find any traces of antiquity. It runs to the Osteria della Colonna.

The aqueduct soon crosses a small stream by what was originally a single arch bridge in opus quadratum, which, however, has been strengthened on each side by successive supporting walls of concrete, so that the thickness of the whole has been at different times increased, until from 2·60 m. it has grown to no less than 9·50 m. The first additions are faced with good brickwork with an ornamental cornice, the later with opus mixtum. The existence of this aqueduct is indicated by Fabretti (*Diss. de Aquis et Aquaeductibus*, map of "Dorsum Praenestinum et Tusculanum"), Cingolani (map), and Nibby (*Analisi*, i. 473); and the "Ponte Diruto" must be what Fabretti calls (without describing it) the last remains of the aqueduct towards Rome. He, however, attributes all these remains to the Aqua Claudia, whereas it is clear, from the amount and character of the deposit, that this aqueduct is that of the Anio Novus.

¹ In this section some very large paving stones are observable. One measured no less than 1·30 × 1·00 m. The pavement, too, is extremely well preserved, and measures 4·40 m. in width. There is a *crepido* on each side, of blocks of selce, one higher than the rest being placed every 4½ paces (p. 181).

In fact, the present road passes over the same stream as the aqueduct upon a bank of water deposit, through which a tunnel has been cut for the passage of the stream, so that the leakage must have been extensive.

Just before the stream is crossed, a reticulatum wall is seen in the bank on the right of the road, which soon runs to the back of the modern fountain and disappears. It is just possible that this is a part of the aqueduct of the Aqua Claudia, which might be expected to be seen above ground at this point; but certainty is impossible without excavation. Being slightly curved, it may be nothing more than a portion of a large circular tomb.

On the N. side of the modern track ran the ancient road, supported on a causeway above the flat ground. Two or three courses of its N. supporting wall of opus quadratum may be seen by descending into the garden immediately below. At Cavamonte it crosses the road coming from the Ponte Lucano by way of Corcolle and Passerano and continuing past Zagarolo to join the other main route from Praeneste to Rome, which is, in fact, that at present in use, the deverticulum which leaves the Via Labicana at S. Cesareo (p. 267). This road (now called the "Maremmana inferiore") runs from Corcolle to Zagarolo along the bottom of a deep valley, and is certainly ancient, being a necessary means of communication for this district, especially as Corcolle, Passerano, and Zagarolo (p. 267) are, to judge from their appearance and from other indications, probably the sites of ancient towns, whether the names generally applied to them, Querquetula, Scaptia, and Pedum, really belong to them or no.

The questions as to the sites of Querquetula and Scaptia cannot be discussed here. Pedum, like the other two, was an ancient Latin city, appearing in the early wars between Rome and her neighbours, and being finally captured by L. Furius Camillus in B.C. 339 (Livy, viii. 12, *Fasti Capit.*). After this date it is only mentioned once, and that is in Pliny's catalogue of the lost cities of Latium, but the name apparently clung to the district. Cicero (*ad Att.* ix. 18) mentions a villa of Caesar's near Pedum, and Tibullus had an estate there. Horace (*Epist.* i. 4, 2) says to him, *Quid nunc te dicam facere in regione Pedana?* The scholiast on the passage remarks that the district lay between Tibur and Praeneste, and according to some took its name from the tomb of one Pedanus, according to others, from an old town (no longer existing) called Pedum. Other indications as to its site are given by Dionysius and Livy in

describing Coriolanus's attacks, after his exile, on the cities which remained faithful to Rome. The former (viii. 19) tells us that Coriolanus marched from Labicum (Montecompati) to Pedum, and, having taken it, proceeded to Corbio (probably Rocca Priora); while Livy (ii. 39) makes Coriolanus capture Corbio, Vitellia, Trebium and Labicum, then Pedum, and then march directly on Rome. From these accounts it would seem more likely that Pedum lay somewhere in the Alban Hills, though the statement of the scholiast (whatever its value may be) tells against this view; and it is further to be borne in mind that the Gauls, returning from Praeneste in 360 B.C., encamped there (Livy, vii. 12), and that we find it in alliance with Praeneste and Tibur in 339 B.C., so that it may have been situated nearer to Praeneste. Any attempt to fix the site more closely is, however, in the present state of our knowledge, quite useless; and this is the case with regard to most of the smaller old Latin cities mentioned by our authorities. In the district with which we are now dealing, we have a certain number of names, and a certain number of sites which are either certainly or probably ancient; but we have not the information which will enable us to fit the names to the sites with any reasonable degree of probability, and, unless inscriptions should come to our aid, we are not very likely to acquire such evidence as we need.

The road between the Osteriola and Zagarolo presents no features of interest, except that a short way from the Osteriola, on the left, there is a curious rock-cut columbarium built into the hillside, the interior of which is faced with *opus reticulatum*. The modern road ascends and passes through Zagarolo, but the ancient road probably kept to the valley to the W. until it reached the road from S. Cesareo to Palestrina close to the Ponte Terrenchiuso (p. 267).

Besides the Zagarolo road, another, still preserving its ancient pavement, diverges to the right at the Osteriola, ascending steeply to the Colle del Pero. This long narrow hill was covered with buildings in ancient times. Almost all the remains belong, however, to the Imperial period, but it is not improbable that this was the site of some village of that age. At one house are columns and architectural fragments in tufa and peperino, and in the vineyard below it an extensive mosaic pavement of black cubes with larger white pieces in the centre, which the shallowness and roughness of the cubes show to be of late date, has recently been turned up. At the top of the hill is a small amphitheatre, constructed of

opus reticulatum with quoins of tufa, and belonging therefore, in all probability, to the first century of the Empire. Its internal diameters are respectively 44.50 m. and 29.90 m. The outermost wall preserved, with niches and doors, is 1 m. thick. Outside it are traces of a passage 2.50 wide, but the outer enclosing wall has perished.¹ Beyond it are two large water reservoirs in opus reticulatum, the remains of a columbarium, which when found had two urns in each niche but has since been very much damaged, and various other remains. A cippus has been built into a gateway here, bearing an inscription, which, though apparently not unknown to archaeologists (I was told that it had been seen and copied by Garrucci and others), has never, so far as I know, been published. I therefore give it here.

C IVLIO C F PAL
SEVERO VIXIT
ANNIS XXVIII ET
CIVLIO · AVG LIB ·
CRESCENTi CLARANO
PATRI IN FRO P L
IN AGR P LXV

The cippus is of travertine, and the surface is somewhat worn, so that my copy, made rather hurriedly, is not accurate in the matter of punctuation. The end of the fifth line I could not read, and give the letters as they appeared to me. The cippus is rounded at the head, and measures 33 cm. across, 47 high, and 13 thick; the letters of each line are 25 mm. high. At Cavamonte was found *C.I.L.* xiv. 2840.

After leaving the Osteriola the road runs through a deep cutting in the rock, which has been further deepened in recent times; in some places the ancient pavement is seen six feet above the modern road. The construction of opus quadratum in a crevice high up on its N.W. side, which Nibby (*Analisi*, i. 444) attributed to an aqueduct, is probably intended to fill up a crack in the rock, so as to prevent earth from falling on the road. A string course of three blocks of opus quadratum close by looks as if it may have supported an inscription. On this side there is the square

¹ A plan of this amphitheatre was made by Palladio (Portfolio xv. f. 8', of his drawings in the library of the Society of Architects): in his time the vineyard in which it stands belonged to Camillo Colonna.

puteus of an aqueduct (half cut away by the modern widening of the road), which descended through the rock for a considerable depth. One side, with footholes at intervals of 0·50 to 0·60 m., is still to be seen. One of the great aqueducts therefore, and possibly the other three as well, passed under the Via Praenestina at this point. The bridge by which the modern road to Gallicano crosses the next ravine, just to the N.W. of the Ponte Amato on the Via Praenestina, is an aqueduct bridge built of opus quadratum strengthened with brickwork. Its total width is, however, 4·44 m. at the top, so that it is possible that in ancient times too it carried a road, unless it took two aqueducts side by side, perhaps the Aqua Claudia and the Anio Novus.

The bridge by which the same road crosses the ravine just S. of Gallicano was also originally built in fine opus quadratum of dark brown tufa, and strengthened later with brickwork. Its total thickness is 3·62 m. Fabretti (*De Aquis*, Diss. I., Tab. I.) and Nibby (*Analisi*, i. 473) attribute it to the Aqua Claudia, and the deposit which I have found resembles that of this water. On other grounds, however, I should be inclined to attribute it to the Anio Novus; but the question is one of great difficulty and complexity, and cannot be discussed here.

The bridge to the N. of Gallicano, marked by Fabretti as a bridge of the aqueduct of the Claudia, is entirely modern.

The two bridges S. of Gallicano are connected by an extremely deep rock cutting through the Colle Collafri, which bears no certain traces of antiquity, but can hardly fail to be ancient. For, besides the fact that Gallicano probably occupies the site of some ancient town (though an identification is impossible), the road which we have been following so far continues eastwards to join the modern road to Poli (itself of ancient origin) near the Villa Catena, forming an important artery of communication. That the same was the case in ancient times is certain from the existence of tombs along its course (one, to the N.E. of Gallicano, is a massive structure of concrete, faced originally with square blocks of tufa), and from the fact that the so-called Ponte di Terra about a mile further on is a natural bridge over a stream, the aperture for which has been carefully enlarged by the hand of man. The regularity and fineness of the work make it impossible to attribute it to any but Roman times, and, further, by the side of it there is a specus 60 cm. wide, cut in the rock, of the shape generally adopted in ancient times; used doubtless for

drawing off water to supply some building, or else to convey drainage into the stream. The district traversed by this road contains many remains of villas and water reservoirs, and must have been populous.



FIG. 17.—PONTE AMATO.

VII.—FROM CAVAMONTE TO PALESTRINA

(*from the Eighteenth to the Twenty-third Milestone*).

The Via Praenestina, after emerging from the Cavamonte cutting, leaves the road to Galliciano on the left, and crosses the Ponte Amato (Fig. 17). This is among the most perfect specimens of a Roman road bridge. Its height is about 10 m., and it has seventeen courses of opus quadratum, the blocks being 56 to 65 cm. high. The roadway measures 5.65 m. (19 Roman feet) in width, the *crepidines*, or low parapets, 59 and 60 cm. (2 feet). The construction is extremely fine, and the bridge is in very good preservation. For further details see Nibby, *Analisi*, iii. 629.

The road now turns, and ascends the opposite hill fairly steeply in a S.E. direction; upon the slope there are some remains of the ancient pavement. Before reaching the top of the ridge it crosses the line of the modern road, and runs within the enclosure wall of the large Palazzo San Pastore (the summer residence of the German College), which is partly built upon a large water reservoir. Beyond the Palazzo it falls into the line of the modern road, and the line of blocks of its retaining wall is visible at the side of the present road. Here it has reached 275 m. above sea level, 100 m. above its level at the Ponte Amato. It continues to run straight on in the same direction, ascending gradually to a height of 425 m. above sea level, until it ends just below the town of Palestrina, keeping along the summit of a long narrow hill with a deep ravine on each side. This alternation of ridges and deep valleys is characteristic of this district, and it is to this that we owe the existence of so many remains of the great aqueducts, which, in order to keep them at a fairly uniform level without the use of siphons, had to be alternately carried on viaducts and through tunnels.

This straight line of road was flanked by numerous tombs, of which some remains exist, increasing, naturally, in number as Praeneste is approached. A considerable number of inscriptions belonging to these tombs have been found: *C.I.L.* xiv. 2842-5 near S. Pastore; 3397 in the Vigna Tranquilla close to the road near S. Pastore; 2940, 3345, 3346, at the Villetta near S. Pastore.

Rather less than a mile from S. Pastore, on the left of the road, are the remains of a large and lofty square mass of concrete, the core of a tomb; and a little further on the ancient pavement of the road is seen. On the Colle Caroso, to the N.E., are two groups of remains in opus reticulatum, belonging, perhaps, to an extensive villa. To the N.E. again, on the hill known as Le Colonnelle, some interesting finds were made in 1887 (*Not. Scav.* 1887, 121). Some walls of opus reticulatum, covered with fine painted stucco belonging to early Imperial times, and others built of small rectangular blocks of stone, with binding courses of bricks, were discovered; also the half of a funeral cippus (*C.I.L.* xiv. 4276), a round leaden urn with inscription (*ib.* 4277) and several brick stamps (*C.I.L.* xiv. p. 498, *ad* n. 4091). Other objects which were said to have been found at the same place—some skeletons, a sword, a bronze helmet, and a ring—were not forthcoming. Near Gallicano was also found *C.I.L.* xiv. 2841.

The other hills on each side of the road, now entirely covered with vineyards, were, notwithstanding the difficulties of communication caused by the deep ravines, mostly running parallel to the road, and cutting up what would otherwise be one tableland into many independent sections, fairly thickly sprinkled with houses in ancient times, some the villas of the rich, others the dwellings of cultivators. The thickness of population naturally increased as Praeneste was approached, but owing to the fact that the land here has been so long under cultivation, the remains of ancient buildings are now in most cases insignificant. It is noteworthy, however, that whereas the Romans lived upon their land, the modern vine-grower, even in a district comparatively elevated—the general level of the hill-tops, and of the road itself at this point, is quite 300 m. (about 1000 feet) above sea-level—finds it necessary, for reasons of health, to return to one of the villages, Gallicano, Zagarolo, or Palestrina itself, to sleep, and this not merely in the summer, but all the year through.

At the Casa Sterpara, a little further along the road on the right, the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 3389 (a sepulchral inscription cut on a slightly curved block of marble, which was placed in the façade of a round tomb) and fragments of 3386 may still be seen built into the wall. Both were found here in 1855 or 1856 in removing the ancient pavement from the road. I was informed that a large headless statue was found here in 1898 under the modern road, and bought by a stone-cutter at Palestrina. Another sepulchral inscription existed till recently at the house on the opposite side of the road, but had recently been removed to Gallicano (the inscription not being well enough preserved to be thought worth keeping) and the marble carved into the arms of the town and placed above the public fountain.

About a mile further on is the church of the Madonna della Stella, just at the twenty-first mile of the ancient road, and about two miles from Praeneste. Before reaching it a tomb of late date is passed on the right. Near here were found *C.I.L.* xiv. 3034, 3311.

From La Stella to the Ponte Sardone the ancient pavement is in a fair state of preservation—at one point near the Villa Frattini I measured the width as 4·31 m. ($14\frac{1}{2}$ feet). It lies abandoned just on the N.E. of the modern road. The steady ascent still continues, and, after a slight turn just at La Stella, the road runs absolutely straight. The valleys on each side of the road now become much wider and shallower, dying away

altogether as Palestrina is reached. The name Valle Vigesimo, which belongs to a valley just beyond La Stella on the N.E., recalls the twentieth mile of the ancient road, which would fall, as a matter of fact, about a mile on the Rome side of the Madonna della Stella.¹ At the top of this valley, W. of the Casa Caffarella, are some remains in reticulatum and brick, and at the house itself some fragments of marble decoration. Here was found *C.I.L.* xiv. 3404. A little further on Cecconi (*Storia di Palestrina*, p. 89) notes the existence of a tomb by the road, and the discovery within the vineyards of the remains of a fine building, perhaps the tomb of a certain M. Ulpus, the fragmentary inscription, *C.I.L.* 3366, having been found here. To the N. is the district called Le Tende, approached by a road running N.N.W., descending steeply into the valley and ascending on the other side, past the remains of a water reservoir (Le Grottelle). According to Cecconi (*op. cit.* p. 19, note 36) and Fernique (*Préneste*, in the *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises*, fasc. 17, p. 122) this road is ancient. It probably ran, as Fernique suggests, to Tivoli, joining the road which now leads to Poli near the Villa Catena. In the district of Le Tende the inscriptions, *C.I.L.* xiv. 2939, 3400, 3401 (all sepulchral), and the water pipe 3043 were found; also, but nearer the Porta San Martino of Palestrina, the water pipes 3039, 3041, 3042.² No. 3039 gives us the name of the owner of the property, P. Acidius Attianus—the rest merely bear the makers' names. On the Colle d' Oddo, still further N., *C.I.L.* xiv. 2985 was discovered.

Some 400 mètres further on, the Torrione Frocina, a large brick tomb, of the ornamental style of the 2nd and 3rd centuries of the Empire, is passed on the right. It is most likely the tomb referred to by Ligorio, Cod. Bodl. 36'. By it diverges an ancient deverticulum, which runs S.W. above the S.E. end of the Valle di Forca (or Folca) Rotonda, and then turns southwards and reaches at I Prati (near which were found the sepulchral inscriptions *C.I.L.* xiv. 2833, 3321) the deverticulum from the Via Labicana (p. 267). So far it is certainly ancient, as the cuttings made for it show. The fountain of Boccapiana has some ancient pavingstones, and close to it in the hill-side is a water-channel, or else a drain for a building on the hill above, of which a few traces remain. To the S. of this road it may be conjectured (though there is at the present time no actual

¹ From the Valle Vigesimo, according to Cecconi (*Storia di Palestrina*, p. 18, n. 34), an ancient road ascended to the Colle Cappelle and Le Tende. Perhaps it went on along the Colle S. Rocco to Gallicano, though he does not say so.

² The inscriptions on these pipes are republished in *C.I.L.* xv. 7888, 7881, 7886, 7887.

evidence on the spot) to have run on past a ruin known as il Muraccio dei Prati to join the Via Labicana itself at the Torraccio di Mezzaselva (see Cecconi, *l.c.*). According to the same authority,¹ the road which diverges to the right just before the Ponte Sardone is reached and joins that last mentioned on the Colle di S. Pietro² is also ancient; and so are the two roads which diverge on the left (N.N.E.) side of the Via Praenestina, one of which runs parallel to that previously mentioned, past the Madonna di Catavasso to Le Tende, and over the Colle Ruzzano to S. Giovanni in Camporazio,³ while the other turns due E. behind the Villa Frattini traversing the district called Ceciliano and the Vigne Petrelli, where Cecconi records the discovery of many sepulchral urns and *glandes plumbeae*, dating perhaps from the siege by Sulla (*loc. cit.*), and ascends towards Castel S. Pietro, the arx of Praeneste.

To the Vigna Rodi or Burri, which lies between the two roads leading to Le Tende, belong *C.I.L.* xiv. 2948, 2951, 3059, 3065, 3105, 3170, 3191, 3192, 3202, 3351, 3355, 3430a. At the Villa Frattini are preserved 3335, 3356, 3362, 3373, 3391, 3395, 3409. Almost all these inscriptions belong to tombs and are of no special importance. The provenance of the Villa Frattini group (with the exception of 3373 which was found here near the road) is unknown, and some may have been brought from Rome. No. 3392 was also found near here in mending the road.

Beyond the Villa Frattini, on the left, is the Casa Carletti, which is partly built into the walls of a Roman building. The path diverging by it is shown, by the remains of paving which exist, to be of ancient origin. On the W. side of it are the remains of a villa, including a very fine cryptoporticus, the roof of which, with its decorations (paintings on a white ground, divided into panels by decorative borders, of very good style) is still well preserved, and deserves to be properly excavated and taken care of. After a short distance it divides: one branch goes towards Colle Martino, which is crowned by a large villa, and is stated by Cecconi

¹ There are no traces of pavement *in situ* in this road, but several loose pavingstones, and at Casale S. Pietro there are a great number; while I was credibly informed that pavement still exists *in situ* in the road from Torrione Frocina to S. Pietro.

² Here were found *C.I.L.* xiv. 2851, 2895, 2918, 3326, 3327; also the brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 2344, 2363 and another, which I believe to be unpublished, /EPPOC There is here, besides the remains of the church of S. Pietro, a very large and well preserved water reservoir, also traces of a villa decorated with very fine marbles.

³ Nibby and Gell in their maps make this road keep along the Colle d' Oddo and the Colle Tondo, crossing the stream W. of the latter.

(p. 20, n. 37) to be ancient: the other goes northwards, and must pass not far from Porta S. Martino (the path issuing from this gate does not, so far as I could tell, follow the line of an ancient road), and then below S. Francesco (where traces of its pavement were discovered some years ago; see Fernique, *op. cit.* p. 122) to join the road to the arx (Castel S. Pietro). Cecconi also states that an ancient road ran from the W. end of the Ponte Sardonio to the Fonte Formale Mura and thence to I Prati and the Via Labicana. It is quite possible, though perhaps not very probable, that so many ancient roads should have existed in the immediate neighbourhood of Palestrina in ancient times: and Cecconi bears a good reputation for accuracy. At the present time, however, in most cases the pavement has entirely disappeared, not even the broken fragments of selce being left to tell the tale. The road now passes over the Ponte Sardone, a long embankment, just over 10 mètres in thickness at present. The ancient facing of the N.N.E. side is, however, nowhere visible, so that the accuracy of the measurement is doubtful. The S.S.W. side shows a mixture of styles: the W. end is faced with opus incertum of the Republican epoch, the centre with brickwork with projecting buttresses joined by arches, the E. end with mediaeval work of small blocks of tufa.

At the E. end of the bridge on the N. side of the road, is a gigantic platform, with two different levels, (constructed of reticulatum on the S. side and opus quadratum and incertum on the W.), intended to support a villa. It contains a large water reservoir only recently filled up. Fernique (p. 119) says that it is in such a good state of preservation, that it could be used now, the water pipes being apparently still in their places. Under this platform, or further up the valley spanned by the Ponte Sardone, was found *C.I.L.* xiv. 2994.

The church of S. Giovanni, on the S. of the road, is built of fragments of buildings of Roman date. To the W. of it is a small house, built upon an ancient arched building of opus incertum. Just opposite to the church on the left of the road, are traces of brick tombs.¹ Here the Via Praenestina is crossed almost at right angles by a road which ascends due N. to the Porta S. Martino, in which unite two separate diverticula, both from the Via Labicana. One, diverging at S. Cesareo beyond Colonna, is the present road from Rome, and is just about as long as the Via Praenestina itself; the other leaves the Via Labicana about 3 miles further on, and

¹ *C.I.L.* xiv. 2960 was found here (cf. Petrini, *Memorie Prenestine*, p. 78).

runs up straight to Praeneste, but is slightly longer. There are a few stones of the pavement preserved at the crossing.

Near this junction of roads have been found the following inscriptions : *C.I.L.* xiv. 2891–2893, 2952 (in the Vigna Soleti, to the S. of the Via Praenestina, between it and the road from S. Cesareo, at about 300 yards from the bifurcation); 2997, 2999, 3013 (near the Madonna dell' Aquila, on the E. side of the road formed by the two deverticula from the Via Labicana). Cecconi (p. 86) speaks of the existence of ruins of a villa, in which mosaic pavements were discovered, at a place called Forma le Mura, to the W. of S. Agapito, in the property of the Petrini family.

The Via Praenestina now crosses the centre of the lower town, while the other road runs on northwards to the upper city and the Temple of Fortune. Its pavement is deeply buried, but its existence is known from various discoveries, and it reappears on the E. side of the modern town, near the Ponte dell' Ospedalato, at 150 m. above the modern road. Its further course, until it joins the Via Labicana in the Valley of the Sacco, which is itself soon absorbed in the Via Latina, is briefly discussed below (p. 218n.); but it is not an integral part of our subject. The town of Praeneste, too, lies outside the scope of our present investigation.

VIA LABICANA.

I.—FROM THE PORTA MAGGIORE TO CENTOCELLE

(from the First to the Fifth Milestone).

The Via Labicana diverges to the right from the Via Praenestina just inside the Porta Maggiore. As its name indicates, it ran, in the first instance, to Labici; but both the site of this place and the course of the road have long formed matter of controversy among topographers. I hope to demonstrate below (p. 238) that the road passed to the S., and not to the N. of Colonna, and that Rosa and Dessau are therefore justified in placing Labici at Montecompatri.

An even greater difficulty has been that of reconciling the indications given by the Itineraries with the actual facts. Strabo (v. 3, 9, p. 237) speaks of Labici as lying on the right of the road, at a distance of some fifteen miles from Rome, and of the Via Labicana as falling into the Via Latina

at the station called *Ad Pictas*: *πρόεισιν ἐπὶ πλείους τῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίων καὶ πλησιάσασα τῇ Λαβικῇ, παλαιῇ κτίσματι κατεσπασμένῃ, κειμένῃ δ' ἐφ' ὕψους, τοῦτο μὲν καὶ τὸ Τοῦσκλον ἐν δεξιούσις ἀπολείπει, τελευτᾷ δὲ πρὸς τὰς Πικτὰς καὶ τὴν Λατίνην· διέχει δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο διακοσίους καὶ δέκα σταδίου.* The Antonine itinerary gives the first few stations of the two roads as follows:

VIA LATINA.	VIA LAVICANA.
Ab Urbe ad Decimum m. p. x.	Ad Quintanas m. p. xv.
Roboraria m. p. iii. (one MS. F. (<i>see</i> Parthey's edition) vi.).	Ad Pictas m. p. x.
Ad Pictas m. p. xvii. (one MS. xviii.).	Compitum m. p. xv.
Compitum m. p. xv. (one MS. xii.).	
Intrat in Lavicanam.	

While the Tabula Peutingeriana varies somewhat:

VIA LATINA.	VIA LAVICANA.
[Ad Decimum] x.	Ad Quintanas xv.
Ad Bivium	Ad Statuas iii.
	Ad Pactas vii.
	Ad Bivium v.
Compito Anagnino x.	

The distances then may be stated as follows: From Rome to Ad Pictas by the Via Latina, 30 miles; by the Via Labicana 25 miles.¹ From Rome to Ad Bivium by the Via Latina, 35 miles (?); by the Via Labicana, 30 miles. From Rome to Compitum Anagninum by the Via Latina, 45 miles; by the Via Labicana, 40 miles; from Praeneste to Compitum Anagninum, 24 miles (Itin. Ant.).²

According to these indications, the Via Labicana ought to be found to be five miles shorter than the Via Latina; but, as a matter of fact, there is less than a mile of difference between them at their point of junction at S. Ilario (see p. 280), which is just under 30 miles from Rome by the Via Labicana, and just over 30 by the Via Latina, so that its identification with the station of Ad Bivium, and the reference of the name to the meeting of these two roads, and not of some by-road from Velletri or elsewhere, seems certain. This being so, the numbering of the milestones further along the road towards Casilinum, where it joins the Via Appia, will agree

¹ According to Strabo (*loc. cit.*) about 26 miles—210 stadia—by which road we are not told.

² The distance is really only 18 or 19 miles (p. 218 n.).

with that of the first portion of either ; and the statement in *C.I.L.* x. p. 695, that the milestones follow the numeration of the Via Labicana, and not that of the Via Latina, falls to the ground. The question of the comparative importance of the two roads, and of the name to be given to the road in which they unite, from Ad Bivium to Casilinum, is not very easy to solve.

The passage of Strabo may be taken as decisive as regards the practice of his day, and may even mean that the Via Labicana did not in his time go further than Ad Pictas. It is indeed probable that the Via Latina was constructed first, leading as it did through the pass of Algidus, a position of great military importance, and very easy to defend when once occupied.

I have conjectured below (p. 241) that the Via Labicana was originally the direct road from Rome to Tusculum, that it was then prolonged to Labici (p. 253), and finally became a road for through traffic, very likely actually superseding the Via Latina, as, while the distance is the same, the latter at the pass of Algidus attains an elevation 650 feet higher than the "summit level" of the Via Labicana. As regards the Via Appia, the journey by the Via Labicana is only 6 miles longer to their point of junction at Casilinum, and by following the latter the troublesome journey by boat through the Pomptine Marshes (which was customary until the road was made through by Trajan)¹ and the mountainous country between Terracina and Formiae would have been avoided. It is to be noted that the Antonine Itinerary says expressly that it is the Via Latina which falls into the Labicana. The two roads were united under one curator in imperial times. In the inscriptions of the curatores (collected by Cantarelli, *Bull. Com.* 1891, 112) we find that sometimes both roads are mentioned, sometimes one only, and in the latter case more frequently the Latina. In one instance only do we find the curator a man of equestrian rank (*C.I.L.* x. 5393); in all other cases the *cura* is held by men of senatorial rank who had already served the office of praetor.

¹ It seems to have been usual in the first century A.D. (see *C.I.L.* x. p. 684, Strabo v. 3. 6. p. 233, Horace, *Sat.* i. 5), though the road was apparently in existence from what Strabo says: *πλησίον τῆς Ταρρακίνης βαδίζοντι ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης παραβέβληται τῇ δδφ τῇ Ἀππίᾳ διῶρυξ* *πλεῖται δὲ μάλιστα μὲν νύκτωρ ὥστ' ἐμβάντας ἀφ' ἐσπέρας ἐκβαίνειν πρώϊας καὶ βαδίζειν τὸ λοιπὸν τῇ δδφ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν· ῥυμουλκεῖ δ' ἡμιόνιον.* Why this troublesome mode of progression was adopted does not seem clear, unless because the road was often impracticable, as De La Blanchère thinks (*Terracine*, in the *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises*, p. 80 sqq.).

Besides the junction at Ad Bivium, we have to account for another junction of the two roads at Ad Pictas, 25 miles from Rome by the Via Labicana (the Antonine Itinerary is clearly wrong with regard to the distances on the Via Latina). If we suppose that Ad Pictas was really a station on the Via Latina, and that a branch ran to it from the Via Labicana (the main road certainly does not meet the Via Latina before S. Ilario—Ad Bivium), we are able to reconcile the passage of Strabo already quoted with the facts. In that case we may place Ad Pictas at the Fontanile delle Macere, which is nearly 24 miles from Rome by the Via Latina and about 25 by the Labicana, taking a *deverticulum* which diverges to the S. about the 23rd mile. Rosa (*Bull. Inst.* 1856, 154) puts Ad Pictas on the hill to the E., which would make the distances respectively 25 and 26 miles.

There now remains Compitum Anagninum, which must be placed at the Osteria della Fontana below Anagni, which is 40 miles distant from Rome, but not more than 18 or 19 from Praeneste.¹ Here, according to the Antonine Itinerary, the Via Latina fell into the Labicana. The statement may be merely an error (*C.I.L.* x. p. 696), but it is worthy of note that while a branch of the Via Latina comes to join the Labicana at S. Ilario, a road goes straight on, in the same line which the road has followed for several miles, as far as the railway station of Anagni, beyond which I have not followed it. It has now no remains of the ancient pavement, which has probably been broken up to form the well preserved mediaeval paving of pieces of limestone. It would fall naturally into the Via Labicana precisely at Compitum.

It is thus probable that all the three junctions of the Via Latina and Labicana which we find mentioned had a real existence, and that the fact that these roads met in no less than three points at post stations (besides other less important intercommunications) led to the confusion which we find in the tables of distances.

The Via Labicana traverses the plain as far as Torre Nuova. Here

¹ This distance is calculated either along the modern road from Palestrina to Valmontone (which follows the line of an ancient road) and thence along the present Via Casilina to Piombinara (where the Via Labicana probably rejoins the modern road) and on to the Osteria della Fontana, or along the Via della Selva (an ancient road according to Fabretti, *De Aquis*, map, opp. p. 90, Chaupy, *Maison de Campagne d'Horace*, iii. 467), which diverges at S. Bartolomeo from the Cave road, thence to the modern Via Casilina and on as before. I have not, however, been able to work out the problem thoroughly. The modern Via Casilina from S. Cesareo to Piombinara follows in all probability the line of an ancient road.

the modern *Via Casilina*¹ diverges to the left, while the ancient road, now entirely abandoned and not easily traceable, goes to the right, and soon reaches the N. slopes of the Alban Hills, which it crosses in an E.S.E. direction, following roughly the boundary between the pasture and corn land and the vineyards. Between Colonna and Montecompatri, and close to the former village, at the station of Ad Quintanas, it turns due E., and continues in this direction until the station of Ad Statuas (S. Cesareo) is reached. Here it turns S.E. again, and runs in a straight direction for about five miles, traversing undulating country, and rising and falling with the ground. The highest level it reaches is 360 m. (about 1180 feet) above the sea. At the twenty-third mile it turns due E., and then a mile further slightly S. of E. again. It keeps this direction, descending gradually through easy country, until S. Ilario is reached. For the last six miles of its course the pavement is preserved intact; sometimes covered by a thin layer of soil, sometimes exposed to view. From S. Ilario it must have followed the valley in which the line from Velletri to Segni runs, as far as the station of Segni, close to which is the large mediaeval castle of Piombinara which probably marks the site of Sacriportus (Nibby, *Analisi*, iii. 50). Here it probably crossed the Sacco and fell into the line now followed by the modern *Via Casilina*; but the valley of the Sacco is so subject to inundations that no traces of the road need be looked for above ground at this point.

The most difficult part of the road is that in which it rises from the plain to the hills; from the point where it crosses the *Via Cavona* to the point where, just S. of the village of Colonna, it strikes the road which leads from Frascati to the Osteria della Colonna on the modern *Via Casilina*. It ascends on the whole 600 feet in five miles, continually rising and falling and rising again. Deep cuttings through the hills, massive supporting walls and great bridges, such as we see on other roads, are conspicuous by their absence. The constructors of the road seem to have taken the ground as they found it, and the gradients must often have been steep and inconvenient for traffic. Cultivation has, however, done much to conceal the traces of the road, and renders it sometimes very difficult or even impossible to fix its course exactly. Its abandonment is very likely due to the troubles of the Middle Ages, as we may gather from the

¹ I do not know how old the name is—it certainly does not go back very far; Nibby does not seem to know it, so that it may be an invention of the last fifty years.

remains of mediaeval fortifications which we shall observe along its course.

After leaving the Porta Maggiore the modern road runs for some way between walls, and then crosses to the N.E. side of the Naples railway. In this first part of its course it was flanked on the left by the low arches of the Anio Vetus (see *Bull. Inst.* 1861, p. 73, for their discovery when the railway was made), of which no trace is now visible, and on the right by those of the Claudia and Anio Novus, and probably also of the Marcia, Tepula, and Iulia (Lanciani, *Forma Urbis*, sheet 32). In this district, "iuxta aquaeductum," was the cemetery of St. Castulus (*Bull. Arch. Chr.* 1865, 9). Between the railway and the aqueduct of the Acqua Felice are the remains (now inclosed by a wall) of the tomb of the Fonteii, which faced the Via Labicana, excavated in 1880 (*Bull. Com. Arch.* 1880, 142). The inscriptions have been removed to the Museo delle Terme (*Guida del Museo*, p. 65). In making a branch line from the Pisa to the Florence railway, which passes under the road here, and runs due N., many discoveries were made (*Not. Scav.* 1889, 339, 365, 401; 1890, 33, 115, 156; 1891, 288).

The pavement of the road was brought to light at a distance of 30 m. from the aqueduct, and 270 m. below the present ground level, flanked by tombs constructed in opus quadratum. Many inscriptions belonging to the latter were found. The road had been much ruined by the pozzolana quarries which had been made below it. In these a few loculi were found, showing that, when disused, they served for burials. An extensive network of *cuniculi* (small passages cut in the rock for use as water reservoirs) was found in the hill occupied by the casino of the Vigna di S. Marcello.

On the right is the Vigna Lepri or Serventi, in which were found *C.I.L.* vi. 3297, 3569; also an inscription of a freedman of an Arab king Samsiceramus, illustrated by Paribeni in *Bull. Com.* 1900, 33 (see also 238). A little farther on, at about the second mile of the road, an ancient road diverged to the right (Lanciani, *Commentari di Frontino*, p. 88.) The pavement was discovered when the railway to Albano was made in 1890 (*Not. Scav.* 1890, 111). It is now called Via del Mandrione, and follows the arches of the aqueducts as far as the Porta Furba, where it joins the Via Tuscolana, a road about the antiquity of which there is considerable controversy. About a kilomètre along the Via del Mandrione the remains of a villa and of a deverticulum running to the Via Labicana were

discovered (*Not. Scav.* 1889, 341; 1890, 34).¹ The main road continues to run between walls, and presents no features of interest until the descent to the valley of the small stream called La Marranella is reached. Here traces of the pavement of the ancient road are visible at a slightly higher level than that of the modern one, and remains of a tomb are seen on the right. On the left, in the Vigna Apolloni, and extending also under the road to the Vigna Marolda Pitilli, a Jewish cemetery was discovered in 1882 (Marucchi in *Diss. del Acc. Pont. Arch.* S. ii., vol. ii. 497; *Guide des Catacombes romaines*, 224). A water reservoir was found in the Vigna Apolloni in 1884 (*Not. Scav.* 1884, 238). This vineyard formerly belonged to the Aldobrandini family. S. of the road may be seen the last arches towards Rome of the aqueduct of Alexander Severus. At the bottom of the valley the road crosses the stream, and immediately afterwards is crossed by the new military road. Excavations led to the discovery of the pavement of the ancient road slightly to the left of that of the modern one, at a depth of 3 m. below the present surface, and of the remains of tombs (*Not. Scav.* 1889, pp. 274, 401). After crossing the stream a road now known as *Vicolo dei Carbonari* diverges to the left: the cutting made for it through the rock clearly indicates that it is ancient. After about half a mile it turns due E. and falls into the line of the prolongation of the *Vicolo del Pigneto* (see p. 152). On the E. of this road the Staff Map marks "ruderi." Nothing remains standing, but there are bricks and marble lying about. A fragment of a tablet of gray marble, probably from a columbarium, bearing the following inscription in letters 12 mm. high, was found there.

ORIS
AE·D·L·DIOI
/XORI

The last letter of the second line is a p or an f.

¹ This would correspond with the road marked by Kiepert (*Carta dell' Italia Centrale*) as leaving the Via Latina at the Vigna Aquari, and running E.N.E. past the Molino S. Pio to the Via Labicana, which it reaches a little to the W. of Torre Pignattara. There are a few ancient paving-stones (not *in situ*) in the section between the Via Appia Nuova and the Via del Mandrione; but I am inclined to think that it falls better into the line of the *Vicolo dello Scorpione*, which (though retaining no traces of antiquity) seems to correspond to the line of an ancient road, which would have passed through the Porta Metrovia of the Aurelian wall

In the Vigna Bartoccini (which was formerly the Vigna Aragni, but has changed hands within the last twenty years), situated not far from the bridge over the stream, many discoveries of tombs, sarcophagi, and inscriptions have been made. In 1884 a tomb chamber was discovered 8 m. below ground, measuring 2.50 by 3 m. and containing three sarcophagi adorned with reliefs (*Not. Scav.* 1884, 424; cf. 1876, 89; 1878, 166; 1891, 199). Among the inscriptions found in 1891 was one which ran thus—*D. M. Cn. Domiti Primitivi qui vix. ann. vii. dieb. vii. fecerunt Domitiae Lavicana mater et Ianuaria avia et Cassianus pater et s[o]dales viae Lavican[ae]*. The *sodalitas viae Lavicanae* was obviously one of the burial clubs so common among the lower orders under the Empire.

The modern road now ascends in a curve. The ancient road ran straight, and about 50 yards N.E. of the modern road. Remains of its pavement and of the tombs and other buildings which lined it on each side may be seen in a pozzolana quarry about 200 yards beyond the Vicolo dei Carbonari: it is apparently running 40 degrees S. of E. Here was, in all probability, the Vigna Diamanti in which were made the discoveries described in *Bull. Inst.* 1842, 4: a columbarium, between which and the high road ran a "subterranean aqueduct"¹ about 2 m. high, cut in the rock. Between the aqueduct and the columbarium were seen traces of an ancient pavement rising towards the latter and probably serving as an approach to it. Here were found *C.I.L.* vi. 3199, 16955.

In enlarging this quarry, at a mean depth of 18 m. below ground level five wells were found, each 1 m. in diameter and over 20 m. in depth, with footholes cut in the sides to facilitate descent. They contained fragments of pottery and marble sculptures, among them the statue representing a satyr playing the flute, now in the Museo delle Terme, and also some

¹ It is possible that this was the specus of the Anio Vetus: for Lanciani (*Commentari di Frontino*, p. 49, note 1) states that in 1880 he saw in the Vigna Marescotti, on the left hand side of the modern road, the specus of a large aqueduct constructed in opus reticulatum with its sides covered with deposit, and which he believed to be the Anio Vetus. The same aqueduct was, however, discovered in 1882 near Porta Furba, in making the military road (*Not. Scav.* 1882, 271, cf. 66), and again in 1890, both in the cutting of the Albano railway (*Not. Scav.* 1890, 12) and close to the point where the railway to Naples crosses the Via Latina. (Its specus is still visible in the short tunnel which carries the railway under the Marrana Mariana.) It was, further, found 450 m. outside the Porta Maggiore crossing the Naples railway at right angles, and then turning sharply S.E. at 45.40 m. above sea level. In this case it would have required arches to cross the valley of the Marranella, which it would have had to do twice, a proceeding for which there seems to be no sufficient reason, though it must be confessed that the direction which it takes (Lanciani, *Forma Urbis*, 32) does certainly warrant this supposition.

unimportant fragments of sepulchral inscriptions (*Not. Scav.* 1884, 223; Helbig, *Führer*, ii. No. 1101). Further discoveries, including that of an *ustrinum*, are described in *Not. Scav.* 1885, 20.

The Vigna Marescotti-Colombo, just to the E. of this quarry, contains many fragments of sarcophagi in marble and terra-cotta. We now reach the third mile of the ancient road (the milestone, erected by Maxentius, was discovered in 1687: *C.I.L.* x. 6882). Just north of it is the Mausoleum, according to tradition, of Helena, the mother of Constantine.¹ It is known as Torre Pignattara from the earthenware jars (pignatte) used here, as frequently in constructions of the fourth century, to decrease the weight of the vault.

Only the N. half of the building now remains; when complete it was circular, with eight niches, alternately rectangular and curved. The entrance on the E. side took the place of one of the former. The roof was domed. The brickwork is of the early fourth century. See Canina, *Architettura dei Tempi Cristiani* (1846), tav. 96, pp. 121, 131. The large sarcophagus of red porphyry, now in the Vatican (Helbig, *Führer*, i. No. 326), was found within the building.

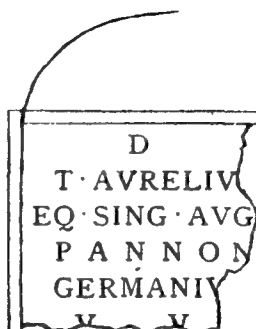
Within the area of the mausoleum is the small modern church of SS. Peter and Marcellinus, and below it are the Catacombs which bear the names of these saints (Marucchi, *Catacombes romaines*, pp. 208 sqq.). A bas relief found near the Mausoleum in 1728 was in the possession of Pier Leone Ghezzi (Lanciani in *Bull. Com.* 1882, p. 224, no. 66).

In the immediate neighbourhood of this mausoleum was the cemetery of the Equites Singulares. The inscriptions are given in *C.I.L.* vi. 3173 sqq. 3912 sqq.; *Not. Scav.* 1896, 525; 1898, 112. A fragment of a tombstone of one of them by the entrance to Torre Pignattara, bearing the following inscription, appears to be unpublished. Above the inscription

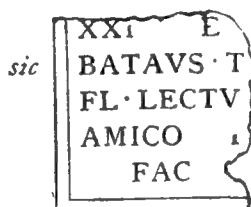
¹ The common tradition is represented by the *Vita Silvestri* in the *Liber Pontificalis*, by Bede (*De sexta aetate Mundi*), and by Nicephorus Callistus (viii. 31). The version according to which Helena was buried in Constantinople (Socrates, i. 17) rests on a misinterpretation of the expression used by Eusebius (*vita Constantini*, iii. 47), ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν πόλιν. The *Liber Pontificalis* has (i. 65, ed. Mommsen): *Eisdem temporibus fecit Augustus Constantinus basilicam beatis martyribus Marcellino presbitero et Petro exorcistae inter duas lauros et mysileum, ubi mater ipsius sepulta est Helena Augusta, Via Lavicana, miliario III qui sepulchrum est ex metallo purphyriticus exculptus sigillis.*

The name "inter duas lauros" as the name of an imperial domain occurs as early as the time of Tertullian, who (*Apol.* 35) speaks of those *qui inter duas lauros obsident Caesarem*. Marucchi (*Guide des Catacombes romaines*, 213) publishes a graffito (the date of which is not stated) in which Helena is actually mentioned. It probably belongs to the sixth century or thereabouts.

is a relief, depicting a slave standing to the spectator's left, and a couch (on which the dead man was represented as reclining) to the right.



The late Henry Stevenson (see his MS. notes, now in the Vatican, f. 14) copied another fragment in the Vigna Marescotti Colombo, which runs thus :



Many other sepulchral inscriptions have been found in the neighbouring vineyards. Most of these are in *C.I.L.* vi. or Kaibel's *Inscriptiones Graecae Italiae*, but a few unimportant fragments have not apparently been noticed. The *recensus locorum recentiorum* of *C.I.L.* xiv. at times gives the numbers of the inscriptions published in *C.I.L.* vi. incorrectly, and is not always complete. Some unimportant discoveries made by Mgr. Ludovico Altieri in the tenuta of Torre Pignattara in 1830 are recorded in *Bull. Inst.* 1832, 4.

Fabretti (*De Aquis*, p. 30) states that a road diverging to the right just after Torre Pignattara, passing west of the Mausoleum of Alexander Severus (Monte del Grano) and falling finally into the Via Latina, was still traceable in his day. It is possible, however, that he is mistaken as he certainly got the idea of its existence from a probably false reading in Frontinus (i. 21), *Anio vetus citra iv miliarium, qua a Latina in*

Lavicanam itur, etc.; whereas Lanciani (*Commentari di Frontino*, p. 43), following Bücheler, has, *Anio vetus citra iv milliarium infra novum, qui a (Via) Latina in Lavicanam inter arcus traicit, et ipse piscinam habet*. In the vineyard to the E. of Torre Pignattara are the remains of two large tombs, one of opus quadratum, the other of concrete; the latter has foundations some 6 or 8 feet deep. The orientation of these gives the direction of the road as 40° S. of E., which corresponds with that found in the quarry 300 yards further back (p. 222), so that the road must have run straight up the hill, passing to the N. of the present one, and crossing it just W. of this point. This view, which was held by Nibby,¹ is borne out by the discovery of the pavement of the road in the Vigna Marescotti, 25 m. from the left edge of the modern road (*Not. Scav.* 1882, 113), by the remains of tombs, (including a travertine cippus, apparently *in situ*, which bears the inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 14610), which are seen in the wall on the N. side of the modern road, and by the fact that beyond this point the pavingstones of the ancient road begin to appear under the houses on the S. side of the modern road.

A water reservoir was discovered in the Vigna Ojetti² in 1882 (*Not. Scav.* 1882, 113), and another in a tufa quarry belonging to the firm of Santini and Giacchelli (*Not. Scav.* 1887, 558). Where this last may have been is doubtful, as no further details of its position are given.

The Vigna de Santis, on the left, contains several sepulchral inscriptions. Among them, besides several published in the *C.I.L.*, I noticed a marble tablet with the following inscription:

D · M ·
C · GALERVS
PLACIDI/
CECINIA
AEGLENS
CON · P

I also saw a white marble cippus, with urceus on the left and patera on the right, bearing the inscription:

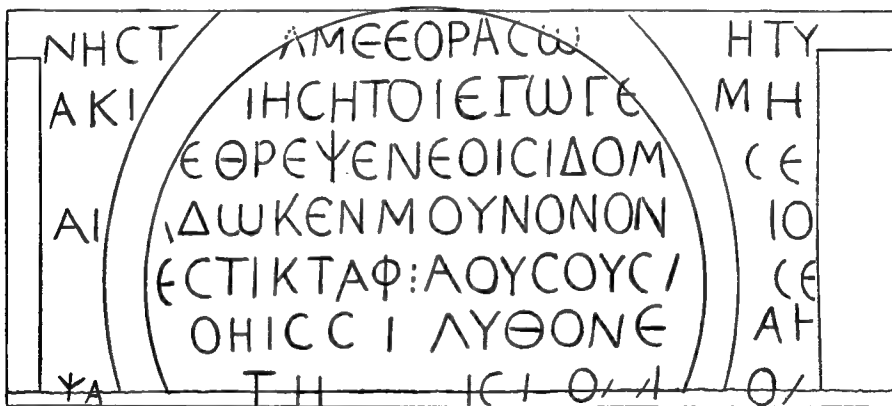
¹ It is stated by him in a volume of his MS. notes now in my possession.

² It is identical with the Vigna della Certosa, which lies on the S. side of the road, between the second and third (ancient) milestones. It is in this vineyard that the last arches (towards Rome) of the Aqua Alexandrina are seen (Lanciani, *Commentari di Frontino*, 171).

C.I.L. vi. 10254: *d. m. | Ti. Claudio | Onesimo | viatori | collegi magni. | Cl. Zmyrna coniux.*

This inscription was copied by Jucundus in the sixteenth century, "in domo Prosperi S. Crucis" (near S. Maria in Publicolis, close to the Ghetto), but it does not seem to have been known by the compilers of the *Corpus* to be still in existence.

In the Vigna Massoli (the last to the right before the open country is reached) some extensive subterranean passages, excavated in the rock were discovered in 1881 (*Not. Scav.*, 1881, 320). They were lined with stucco and floored with hard cement, but as the walls of one of them were adorned with frescoes, they can hardly have served as water reservoirs, and their purpose must be considered doubtful. Built into the wall of the Vicolo Dogali, which turns off to the left about 500 yards beyond the Vigna de Santis, is a large slab of marble, bearing an unpublished inscription in Greek, with good lettering, which has been used as the pressedbed of an oil mill, the inscription being partly destroyed.



There is also a travertine cippus, with the inscription :

INFRONTE
P·XIII
INAGRO
P·XIII

In the Villa Cellere (formerly the Villa del Grande) a fine subterranean tomb (probably Pagan) was discovered in 1838 (*Diss. Accad. Pont. Arch*

x. 43-124, *C.I.L.* vi. 24926, Marucchi, *Guide des Catacombes romaines*, 223). Here was also found the lead pipe, *C.I.L.* xv. 7412, *Aemilius Lucius fecit | Aureli Thessali Aug. lib.*

In the wall of the Villa Cellere is another travertine cippus with the inscription :

V·PVC
LICVMDERV
LIBERTEIS·TE
LIBERTABV
A·LIVIVS·D·I.
TABIANV
IN·AGRV·P·X

The cippus is broken at the top, and the surface weathered, so that the inscription is not easy to read. The lettering belongs to the first century B.C. Not far from this point the aqueduct of the Aqua Alexandrina must pass under the road, as at the crossing of the Fosso di Centocelle it reappears on the north of it.

A little further on, at the fourth mile of the ancient road, comes a sharp descent to the valley of the Fosso di Centocelle. The cutting of the ancient road is visible a little to the S. of the modern one, and on each side of it are tombs. On the N. a double tomb has recently been found ; a shallow grave cut in the rock, with a partition of opus mixtum dividing it into two. On the S. is a square brick tomb, with a round chamber above it. To the E. are the remains of two large tombs in opus quadratum, which give the line of the road as being precisely 25° S. of E. A sepulchral inscription published in *Diss. Acc. Pont. Arch.* Ser. ii. vol. ii. p. 42, mentions a tomb *quod est Via Lab(icana) sum(ma) iiii. ad MP*, the reference being to this point of the road, where the highest point coming out of Rome is reached.

We have now reached the Tenuta di Centocelle (the name extends to the land on each side of the road), the scene of important excavations and discoveries. Remains of a fine villa exist to the S. of the road to the E. of the parade ground (Piazza d'Armi). There are two fairly well preserved water reservoirs. One is a single chamber of opus reticulatum with later additions in rougher work ; the other consists of two chambers side by side, with two openings in the wall between them, and a third (square)

chamber at one end, communicating with one of them by a pipe, possibly used for filtration, the whole standing upon vaulted foundations. Pirro Ligorio (MS. Bodl. f. 80') gives plans of two water reservoirs situated three miles from Rome along the road, but they do not correspond with any buildings now existing, and may or may not be fictitious. He also gives (*ibid.* 114, 114') plans of tombs on this road, to one of which he attributes the forged inscriptions *C.I.L.* xiv. 241.*

Further E. is the apse of a church with eight windows. The style of the brickwork dates it as 5th century work, and this corresponds with the identification of this site with that of the suburban see of Sub Augusta or Augusta Helena, the bishops of which are mentioned in the records of the latter half of the 5th century (see Nibby, *Analisi*, iii. 119, and *infra* p. 263). The latter name may indicate that the villa belonged to the Empress Helena, though parts of it are in origin of earlier date.¹ At the end of the last century excavations were made here, and some important statues and busts discovered which are now in the Vatican: the Thanatos² of the Galleria delle Statue, the (so-called) Adonis of the Gabinetto delle Maschere, the (so-called) Lycurgus of the Sala delle Muse, and the busts of Isis and of the youthful Lucius Verus in the Sala dei Busti (Helbig, *Führer*, i. nos. 189, 233, 264, 287).³

N. of the apse of the church, and close to the road, is the Casale di Centocelle, built into a circular brick tomb with domed roof and niches, of rough work and belonging to a fairly late period. Just at this point, close to the bridge over the stream, stood the tomb of the Haterii, the reliefs from which are now in the Lateran, and, representing as they do some of the buildings of the Sacra Via, are of great topographical importance (*Bull. Inst.* 1848, 97; *Annali*, 1849, pp. 363-410; Helbig, *Führer*, i. p. 515). To the E. is the Torre di Centocelle, a mediaeval tower of great height, built of chips of selce, tufa, and white marble, which evidently occupies the site of a Roman building. Near it are the foundations of a structure in opus quadratum, and to the S. of it, upon the ridge, are the

¹ In 1755 the inscriptions *C.I.L.* vi. 631, 632, belonging to the collegium Silvani Aureliani (177 A.D.), the members of which were gladiators of different kinds, were discovered here. Their names and special performances are given in the first of the two inscriptions, which is the *album collegii*.

² This name is that given to the statue by Helbig: it is generally known as Eros.

³ From a letter preserved in the Archives at Modena, and published in *Bull. Com.* 1898, 28, which bears date March 28th, 1787, we learn for the first time that these two busts were also found here.

remains of some unimportant buildings. On the opposite side of the road are remains of a tomb and a small water reservoir in opus reticulatum. A road (probably that marked by Nibby and Gell, though they fix its point of departure a good deal further W.) must have diverged northwards here, running towards the Via Praenestina: for above the W. bank of the stream, to the N. of the Aqua Alexandrina, the fine remains of which are seen crossing the valley on the left of the road, are some foundations of uncertain date (perhaps of a tomb), and to the N. a large villa in the ruins of which I found the brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 496 a, 2226,¹ and many paving-stones. No traces of the road are to be seen further N., and Nibby and Gell only mark it as running for half a mile from the Labicana.

The Staff Map gives the name "Ruderi di Centocelle" to some now insignificant remains S. of the aqueduct on the E. bank of the stream, to which, however, a small channel running from the great aqueduct may be traced, and at the point where it leaves the aqueduct are the remains of a reservoir, in which I found *C.I.L.* xv. 1007.

This was the site of the excavations of Guidi in 1866 (*Bull. Inst.* 1866, 170; *C.I.L.* vi. 1870 a, published also in *Bull. Com.*, 1874, 5). Several tombs were found, and a fine villa, the plan of which was unfortunately not taken. In it were two mosaic pavements, one representing a courtesan sitting with her lover, and two female servants, the other depicting comic masks. These mosaics were both inclosed in terra-cotta boxes filled with plaster, into which the cubes of the mosaic were set. A leaden water-pipe was also found, bearing the inscription:—L · LAETOR · ANNAEI · RVF (*C.I.L.* xv. 7484). A pavement of opus signinum had in later times been laid upon them (*Bull. Inst.* 1871, 269).

From the tombs came sixteen inscriptions (now preserved in the Capitol), and many brickstamps. Besides three copies of the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 454 a: *Apron(iano) et Paetino co(n)s(ulibus) Pomp(oni?) Vit(alis) ex pr(aedis) Anni Veri Quint(ianis) vel Quint(anensibus)*, about seventy more stamps were found with the names of the same consuls (who held office in 123 A.D.), followed by the name of a slave, with hollow letters arranged in two straight lines. It is probable, therefore, that these latter stamps also

¹ This stamp had previously been found only in the Alban Hills, and is therefore classed among the stamps belonging to bricks from that district in the *Corpus*. The discovery of this copy (which is upon a flange-tile) shows that these bricks may have been made nearer Rome. Another stamp giving the name of the same factory owner—(Annia Arescusa), *C.I.L.* xv. 1141—has been several times found in Rome itself.

belong to the figlinae Quintianae or Quintanenses (*C.I.L.* xv. p. 132). The brickstamps, with the sculptures, were bought by the Municipal Archaeological Commission in 1872 (*Bull. Com.* 1872-3, 91).

Near Centocelle, on the left of the road, was found in 1758 an inscription (published by Dessau in *Eph. Epigr.* vii. (1892) p. 384) erected in honour of M. Atilius Severus, who was consul in the time of Commodus and exiled by him, by the Sodales Herculani.

II.—FROM CENTOCELLE TO TORRE NUOVA

(*from the Fifth to the Seventh Milestone*).

Shortly after passing the Torre di Centocelle the modern road turns slightly to the left as it ascends the hill. The ancient road seems to have gone on in a straight line, running through a cutting which is still clearly visible, and keeping fifty yards or more S. of the modern road for a mile and a half beyond this point. At the top of the hill we reach the site of the fifth milestone of the ancient road. To the S. of the road, at a distance of about 500 yards, are some ruins of an entirely mediaeval building, close to which, however, are the remains of a rectangular water reservoir of Roman date. Here, a year or two ago, a large number of amphorae (I was told 200 or so) were discovered.

Nearly a mile further S. is a tower known as Torre Spaccata, which is wholly mediaeval; but some way to the S. of it again is a lofty square mass of concrete, probably the core of a tomb. To the S.E. of the tower is a ruin called the Muraccio dell' Archetto, which is an apse of brickwork and opus reticulatum. Near it are masses of concrete, and there was probably a large villa here, as also at point 65 further to the N.

About 300 yards E. of the site of the fifth milestone, traces of tombs in opus quadratum are visible on both sides of the cutting of the ancient road. Only the large foundation blocks (in one case six feet long) remain, orientated with the line of the road. I was told, in fact, by a road-mender that bodies had been found there in October, 1899. The discovery (recorded in *Bull. Com.* 1899, 149) of a tomb inscription of the early Empire, in planting trees along the modern road, does not prove that it exactly follows the ancient here. The inscription was not found *in situ*, as it would seem, and even if it had been, the belt of tombs lining the road may well

have been fifty yards wide ; or the tomb to which the inscription belonged may have been erected on the line of a *deverticulum*. Pavingstones were, as a matter of fact, discovered at the same time.

The line of this *deverticulum* would be preserved by the modern track which runs W. of the "Ruderi delle Bisacce" (a large open water reservoir) and thence due N. An ancient road probably ran E., starting from this track a little N. of the Due Casaletti (two modern farm-houses) ; for here we have four tombs in line, one of which is a square chamber of *opus quadratum*. The blocks are of peperino, and one of them measures 2'50 × '74 × '75 m. Three courses of masonry, each '75 m. high, are preserved, and there is a door near the S.E. angle. This road would have run some way to the S. of the Casa Calda, which is an entirely mediaeval ruin. Fabretti (*De Aquis*, Diss. i., Tab. i., num. 8) marks a branch aqueduct from the Aqua Alexandrina passing W. of it, which probably supplied some villas further S. The inscription *C.I.L.* vi. 1598 was found near Casa Calda by Rosa in 1856, close to an ancient rock-cut water reservoir, and is now preserved in the Villa Borghese at Frascati. It is cut on the epistyle of a marble monument. The first third is wanting, but it is almost certain that it is the sepulchral inscription of Nicomedes, the tutor of Lucius Verus. (See *Annali*, 1857, 86.)

On the S. of the ancient Via Labicana is the apse of a church, constructed of *opus mixtum* and facing E., close to which are remains of other buildings in brickwork of a late period. It is very likely that the name "Cappella di S. Maura," which upon the Staff Map is applied to the brick tomb referred to below, belongs in reality to this building. Excavations were made here in 1890, but led to little result, as the site was found to have been explored already (*Not. Scav.* 1890, 159).

Ficoroni (*Piombi*, p. 9, and tav. i. fig. 2) gives an illustration of a medallion found in 1724 in the hollow of the imoscape of a marble column four miles out of Rome (reckoning from the Porta Maggiore), on the right of the road.

The ancient road, as has been said, continues to run S. of the modern ; the latter, at the top of the hill, cuts through the foundations of a villa, which appear on each side of the cutting. S. of it, but on the N. of the ancient road, are foundations of tombs in concrete, fragments of paving stones, and, at point 53, an elegant little tomb in ornamental brickwork, with a cornice of *terra-cotta*, not moulded but cut, and with loophole

windows. In the cutting of the modern road through the next hill the walls of another villa are seen in each bank, proving again that the ancient road ran elsewhere.

Just E. of this, on the S. side of the modern road, is a trough (probably a water-trough) of concrete of selce, lined with hard cement, and apparently open to the air; it measures 5·82 × 68 m. inside, and is about a foot deep, with walls 34 m. thick. It runs W.N.W. and E.S.E., thus preserving the line of the road. A few hundred yards to the N. are some entirely mediaeval remains.

At this point was the sixth milestone of the ancient road. Keeping a straight line, it now crosses the modern road, and the tombs which lined it are seen in the field to the N. Some way N. of these again is a lofty mediaeval tower, and close to it the remains of a large building, perhaps a church. These ruins are called "Le due Torri." Excavations made hereabouts in 1890 proved fruitless, the tombs of the ancient road having been destroyed by mediaeval and modern constructions (*Not. Scav.* 1890, 159).

A few hundred yards to the S., in the direction of the Casale Carcaricola (Cardariola in the register of Cencius Camerarius: Nibby, *Analisi*, iii. 239) is a large water reservoir with external buttresses.

The ancient road descends the hill in a straight line in a cutting, which may be seen on the S. of the modern road; the latter curves slightly to the left again, and recrosses the ancient line.

Turning sharply at the bottom of the hill, the ancient road passes over a very fine bridge, still in use and well preserved. It is constructed of opus quadratum of tufa, and the single arch measures 5·70 m. in span, and 6·10 in width. The bridgehead on the N. is particularly well preserved (Fig. 18).

Four hundred yards further on, corresponding with the site of the seventh milestone, is the large casale of Torre Nuova (Nibby, *Analisi*, iii. 238) surrounded by a grove of pines (a rarity in the Campagna), and forming, as Nibby remarks, an oasis in the desert. The front of the central portion of the casale rests on an ancient building (apparently a tomb), faced with brickwork, in which are seen the thin bricks, with very thin layers of mortar between them, characteristic of the beginning of the third century, and in the courtyard some opus reticulatum may be seen. There are many architectural fragments of marble about; a fine piece of cornice in the garden just beyond the bridge may be noted. In the court-

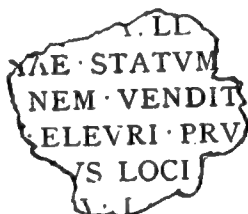
yard are several inscriptions: *C.I.L.* vi. 9182, and some others, copied and published by Tomassetti (*Bull. Com.* 1899, pp. 284–286). The discoveries in the tenuta have been many. Pier Leone Ghezzi, in a MS. in the Vatican (Cod. Ottobon. 3106 f. 166: see Schreiber, *Fundberichte des P. L. Ghezzi* in *Sitzungsberichte der k. Sächs. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften*, 1892, p. 142, nos. 67, 68) describes the sarcophagus with the myth of



FIG. 18.—BRIDGE OVER FOSSE DEL GIARDINETTO.

Actaeon, found here in 1738, which at first belonged to the Borghese family, and is now in the Louvre (Fröhner, *Notice*, no. 103). See also Ficoroni, *Labico*, p. 30 (= mem. 61 in Fea, *Miscellanea*, i. 148). Ghezzi also gives a drawing of a bronze female statue found here in 1742 (British Museum, Townley MS. f. 143: see Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* 1893, 166). A relief representing the education of Telephus or Artemis Kourotrophos (now in the Villa Borghese) was found either here or at Pantano in 1760 (Helbig, *Führer*, ii. no. 954). The inscriptions *C.I.L.* vi. 3606, 8443, 8498, 15018, and the great mosaic of gladiators (now in the Villa Borghese)

discovered in 1834 in the Quarto called La Giostra¹ in the remains of a large villa near the E. edge of the tenuta (*Bull. Inst.* 1834, 193; 1846, 189; *Diss. Acc. Pont. Arch.* xii. 73, where a full description is given by Henzen: Helbig, *Führer*, ii. p. 124) also belong to this locality. Other unimportant excavations are recorded in *Bull. Inst.* 1863, 69; *C.I.L.* vi. 698 (a marble altar dedicated to Valentius Silvanus) was also found near here, also the unimportant cippus *C.I.L.* vi. 19981 a. Stevenson (MS. notes, *vol. cit.* f. 16') gives the text of a fragmentary inscription found here, together with a marble relief representing hippocampi and cupids.



In this district was situated the ager Pupiniensis or Pupinius, from which the tribus Pupinia took its name. It lay between Rome and Tusculum, eight miles distant from the former, and upon the edge of the territory of the tribus Papiria, to which Tusculum belonged. It was in the ager Pupinius that Hannibal encamped, after leaving Gabii, when he marched on Rome in 211 B.C. (*Liv.* xxvi. 9. 12, *Festus*, p. 233, *Müll.*) Its sterility was proverbial (*Varro, R.R.* i. 9. 5, *Columella* i. 4, *Val. Max.* iv. 4. 4). It was here that Atilius Regulus and Fabius Maximus had their farms, according to the writers just cited.

In the eighth century this territory constituted the Massa Calciana spoken of in the Register of Cencius Camerarius, so that it continued to be an inhabited centre (*Nibby, Analisi*, ii. 238).

III.—FROM TORRE NUOVA TO PRATA PORCI

(*from the Seventh to the Eleventh Milestone*).

Up to the point we have now reached the modern road keeps fairly close to the ancient, but from Torre Nuova to San Cesareo, about the eighteenth mile from Rome, the two are entirely distinct, and there they

¹ Giostra means a large inclosed space (literally a 'ousting place or tilting ground').

separate again, after being within 35 paces of one another at one point (p. 266), and do not unite until the castle of Piombinara (p. 280) is reached, about 31 miles from Rome. The course of the ancient road has been in the past matter of controversy, and with it is connected the question as to the site of Labici,¹ which Strabo (v. 3, 9, p. 237) places on the right of the road upon a hill, at a distance of over fifteen miles from Rome (Λαβικανὴ ὁδὸς) πρόεισιν ἐπὶ πλείους τῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίων, καὶ πλησιύσασα τῷ Λαβικῷ, παλαιῷ κτίσματι κατεσπασμένῳ, κειμένῳ δ' ἐφ' ὕψους, τοῦτο καὶ τὸ Τοῦσκλον ἐν δεξιῶις ἀπολείπει κ.τ.λ.

In his day it was already destroyed, but was succeeded by a station on the road which ran below, called Labici Quintanenses or (by the Itineraries) Ad Quintanas, and situated near the fifteenth milestone. Of the six sites proposed for Labici, Zagarolo,² Colle dei Quadri,³ and Valmontone,⁴ are in any case impossible, as their distance from Rome is too great. Colonna, the site preferred by most writers,⁵ could not be identified with it, unless the ancient road passed below and to the N. of it, whereas, as will be seen, it ran to the S. of it. There remain therefore, Monte Compatri⁶ and Monte Salomone⁷; but, as will be seen, the evidence in favour of the latter is quite insufficient.

Before proceeding to follow the course of the ancient road, it may be convenient to describe very briefly that of the modern. That it follows, more or less, the line of some ancient road, is very likely. The district through which it passes, though at the present day absolutely desolate, was in Roman times covered with villas the remains of which are still traceable. Chaupy (*Maison d'Horace*, iii. 469) states that he saw the ancient pavement of this road *in situ* a mile beyond Torre Nuova. The fact that (as will be seen from the map) it serves in several places as the boundary between the territory of different communes and in particular that of Rome, is also significant. But the entire absence of tombs shows that it was of no

¹ This is the orthography adopted by most Latin writers (*C.I.L.* xiv. p. 274).

² Cluverius, *Italia antiqua*, p. 947; Kircher, *Latium*, p. 120.

³ Ficoroni, *Labico*, Bertarelli, *Labico*. The name Labico was only given to Lugnano in the year 1880, Ficoroni's erroneous theory being thereby sanctioned.

⁴ Alberti, *Italia*, p. 144; Biondo, *Italia Illustrata* (ed. 1543), p. 102; Kircher, *Latium*, pp. 71, 72 (though on p. 120 he rejects this site in favour of Zagarolo).

⁵ See (among others) Holstenius, *Ad Cluver.*, p. 194; Fabretti, *De Aquis*, 175; Nibby, *Analisi*, ii. 157; Gell, *Environs of Rome*, 280; Westphal, *Römische Kampagne*, p. 79.

⁶ Capmartin de Chaupy, *Maison de Campagne d'Horace*, ii. 174; Rosa, *Bull. Inst.* 1856, 154; *C.I.L.* xiv. p. 275.

⁷ Vitale, *De oppido Labici dissertatio* (Rome, 1778).

great importance, and there is hardly a single place where it can be said to look like an ancient road. At several points, in fact, the cuttings by which it is taken through the hills are driven right through remains of villas, ancient drains, &c. After crossing the Ponte della Morte, however, it ascends and descends the hill between this and the Osteria del Finocchio by a deep cutting which, though much widened in modern times, may be in origin ancient. There are, too, remains of a fine villa on the S. side, which do not seem to have been cut through by the road. On the other hand, the appearance of a drain on the N. side is an awkward fact. At the Osteria del Finocchio it reaches an important junction of roads; the Via Cavona crosses it, and a road from the valley of Prata Porci also joins it here. On the S. of the road, near the Osteria, Cluverius (*Italia antiqua*, p. 956) saw *qua Tusculum versus ascenditur, vestigia quaedam in lenissime adsurgentibus tumulis veterum murorum aedificiorumque. Haec ego . . . Gabiorum reliquias esse iudico*. (In this he is of course entirely mistaken.) Beyond the Osteria, Ficoroni (*Labico*, 30), who wrote in 1745, states that he saw the workmen who were repairing the modern road, excavating the pavement of the ancient road on its left, and using the stones for the new one.

As far as the Osteria the road has run fairly straight, ascending gradually, from Torre Nuova. It now descends sharply into the wide basin of Pantano ("the swamp"), and then, skirting the edge of the hills which bound it on the south, ascends again steeply (174 m. in 4500) from the Ponte di Pantano to the Osteria della Colonna. Shortly after the ascent commences the remains of a large villa are seen on the right (at point 74 on the map).

A little further on, at point 109, on the same side of the road, are the remains of a water reservoir, and below it, overlooking the valley to the W., the ruins of another extensive villa, in which may still be seen a round furnace with four apertures communicating with a square chamber surrounding it, from which the hot air was distributed by pipes, two in each angle. The brickstamps (*C.I.L.* xv. 599 a) belong to the time of Hadrian. Here or hereabouts (nel quarto del Corvio dalla parte di Pantano) was found a lead pipe bearing the inscription T·STATILI(us) FELICIO FEC(it) *C.I.L.* xv. 7868b. Armellini, *Cronachetta*, 1892, 81.

On the opposite side of the road is the Laghetto della Colonna, which has by many authors been held to be the Lake Regillus. I have tried to show that it is not in *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, 1898, pp. 109–114 (a short

summary is given in the *Classical Review*, 1898, 470). That it is not merely a modern quarry is shown by the fact that the remains of a very large villa, which dominate its N. and E. sides, follow the curve of the cliffs. To the E. of it, and S. of the summit of the conical hill called Monte Falcone (perhaps from Q. Pompeius Falco, who in this case may be assumed to have been the proprietor of the villa: Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* 1884, 188), are the remains of a large water reservoir with two parallel chambers. Monte Falcone is entirely composed of selce (hard lava), which the engineers of the Roman aqueducts were at great pains to avoid. The Anio Novus and Claudia, and probably the Marcia, travelled at a sufficiently high level to be able to pass E. of the hill without much tunnelling; but the Anio Vetus, the level of which is here some 150 feet lower, is taken round the E., N., and W. sides of the hill, making a very long circuit, in order to avoid even the shortest tunnel through the hard lava.

A few hundred yards beyond the Laghetto an ancient deverticulum falls into this road from the S., descending probably from the Via Labicana near the fifteenth milestone, though its course is not certain beyond Le Marmorelle. Along this road was probably found *C.I.L.* xiv. 2780 (cf. *Bull. Inst.* 1856, 156).

About a kilomètre further on is the point where the Anio Novus must cross the road. Remains of it, at the ground level, are visible in the fields to the N.—part of the specus and several putei. A little further E., to the N. of the Casale delle Cave, a small stream has been dammed in ancient times by a curving wall built of large rough blocks of selce.

This dam measures 3'00 m. wide at the top, broadening rapidly towards the bottom. Probably there was a small hole in it for the passage of the stream; and the object of the dam was, very likely, to protect the aqueducts. N.E. of this are considerable traces of pavingstones, some perhaps *in situ*, of a road running a little W. of N., probably from the Osteria della Colonna towards La Pallavicina. Along the course of this road are two or three water reservoirs, in which was no doubt collected the water from the springs which lie a few hundred yards N. of the Osteria, and feed the Acqua Felice. The road mentioned as leaving the Via Praenestina at Cavamonte also runs to the Osteria della Colonna; and yet another ancient road is that which approaches the Osteria from the W., descending from the Via Labicana near the fifteenth mile, and skirting

the western and northern slopes of the hill on which the village of Colonna stands. Where it turns eastwards it passes the remains of a large villa, with two platforms supported by substructures one above the other, in which were found a Mithraic relief, some columns, and the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2772 (*Bull. Inst.* 1864, 92 ; 1865, 266 ; *Bull. Com.* 1872-3, 270). Finally, it is probable that an ancient road descended from the Via Labicana on the E. side of Colonna also, though not following precisely the line of the modern road which runs here, as the latter cuts through the remains of a water reservoir half-way down the hill, but keeping perhaps a little further E. There are some paving stones in a field wall to the W. of the Casale Altieri, which may have belonged to this road. The water reservoir is probably connected with the ancient villa in the Altemps property, in which in 1871 was found the sepulchral inscription : *C.I.L.* xiv. 2779. Fabretti (*De Aquis*, map opposite p. 90) marks this road.

The Osteria della Colonna was, therefore, in ancient times an important meeting point of roads, an additional argument for the antiquity of the Via Casilina.

After the Osteria the road passes a large villa on the hill to the N. It presents no features of particular interest, and ascends gradually to S. Cesareo (p. 266).

It is now necessary to return to the real Via Labicana, which we left at Torre Nuova. The first to identify the true course of the road was Capmartin de Chaupy (*Maison de Campagne d'Horace*, ii. 173), though the indications given by him are meagre. The rediscoverer of the road as a whole was Rosa, whose results are published by Henzen in *Bull. Inst.* 1856, 154. The account of the course of the road, though absolutely correct, is unfortunately very brief and unaccompanied by a map, the result being that the line given by Kiepert and Dessau (who accept Rosa's view) in the map at the end of *C.I.L.* xiv. is very far from being the true one, showing that Rosa's description was not carefully verified on the spot before the construction of the map (cf. *C.I.L.* xiv. p. 275). So far as straightness goes, a point upon which Dessau lays stress, the ancient road has very little advantage over the modern one. The view expressed by me in *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, 1898, 111, is vitiated by the same misconception. It may be mentioned in passing that some of those authors who place Labici at Colonna make the road diverge to the right from the modern here, but fall into it again not far from the Laghetto della Colonna (Fabretti, *De Aquis*, Diss. i.

Tab. i.; Nibby, *Analisi*, iii. 631, ii. 165; Westphal, *Römische Kampagne*, 79). The first indication of the course of the road is a tomb about 600 yards E. of Torre Nuova, called on the military map "Il Torrione." This is a large brick tomb, in two stories; of the upper chamber little is left, but the lower is almost complete. Its entrance faces about 16° E. of N., so that it stood on the N. side of the ancient road (the entrance being from the back, as a rule, in tombs of this construction), and on this side there is a kind of porch. The chamber is lighted by loophole windows in each of the other three sides.

A hundred yards S. of this, and on the S. side of the road, lies a large water reservoir (called "Il Caminetto" from a modern chimney built upon it) divided into three aisles, the cross-vaulting of which is supported by four pillars of opus mixtum. There are remains of buildings to the N. of it, and excavations were made here in 1890 (*Not. Scav.* 1890, 159), in the course of which, though the ground had obviously been already explored, some fragments of marble statues and part of a mosaic representing a Nile scene were found, besides a complete column of Carystian marble (4.70 m. in length, 0.60 m. in diameter) and some fragments of other columns which still lie there.

The track of the road from the Torrione to the stream seems to be clearly traceable in the grass, running E.S.E. There are a few paving stones apparently *in situ*, and many lying loose.

To the N. of the road, and just above and to the S. of the modern road, lies the Ara delle Sette Miglia, a conical hillock, on which are remains of some mediaeval building. To the N. of the modern road are the remains of a large villa, marked erroneously by Fabretti (*De Aquis*, Diss. i. Tab. i.) as "aquaeductus."

After crossing the stream the road turns more to the S. The paving stones of the ancient road are visible in places on the ascent to the top of the next hill. In the course of this ascent we pass the site of the eighth milestone. Upon the top of the hill is a group of tombs, of most of which the foundations only remain, all orientated to correspond with the line of the road which here runs S.E., except one on the N. side orientated N.N.W. and S.S.E. which may point to the existence of a diverticulum at this place (perhaps that mentioned on p. 176).

The road now keeps to the top of the ridge, and after passing over the aqueduct of the Acqua Felice, another group of tombs is reached, mostly

in a state of almost complete dilapidation. They were, as a rule, of concrete and brickwork, often decorated with marble. S.W. of the road are the Grotte Celoni (which, according to the view of Nibby, *Analisi*, iii. 239, derive their name from Fabius Cilo, the friend of Septimius Severus), both of which are single chambered water reservoirs, one constructed of opus reticulatum, baked bricks and quoins of tufa, and the other of brickwork and of opus mixtum. Excavations made here in 1890 (probably among the tombs which line the road) resulted in the discovery of a few sculptural fragments; but the site had been already explored (*Not. Scav.* 1890, 159). To the S. beyond the Fosso del Cavaliere, lies the Passo del Lombardo which may be identified with Prato Lombardo, to the N. of which, or above which ("sopra"), in the tenuta of Torre Nuova, the statue of Helios, now in the Louvre, was discovered in 1769 (see *Ragionamento di Clemente Biagi sopra un' antica statua scoperta nell' Agro Romano* (1772), avviso ai lettori, p. 6. Fröhner, *Notice*, no. 415.).

The traces of tombs continue beyond the Grotte Celoni. About 500 yards on is a well on the S.W. side of the road, about 1 m. in diameter, cut through the tufa to a depth of about 20 feet, and provided with foot-holes. Just beyond it is a fine piece of the pavement of the road *in situ*, the width of which cannot be accurately determined.

Here is the site of the ninth milestone, and here the Via Labicana turns sharply to run a few degrees N. of E., passing N. of a large circular mound, the remains of the concrete foundation of a tomb which forms the W. side of a large ustrinum, placed in the fork between the Via Labicana and a road of some importance (to judge from the solidity of its construction and from the remains of the tombs which flanked it), which continues straight on, running due S.E. at first, and then near the remains of a villa at point 105¹ turning slightly to the S., until it reaches the Via Cavona. At the place where it fell into this important road (see p. 176) its direction is 20° E. of S. and its width 2.50 m. This is, be it noted, the spot where the boundary of the Agro Romano crosses the Via Cavona. Its course after this is not quite certain; there are many paving stones between this point and the large villa known as Grotte Dama, but they are mostly *in situ*, and belong to a road running 30° S. of W. to join the Via Cavona. Beyond this I have not been able to trace it. It is most probable, however, that its continuation is to be found in the road (into

¹ Here was found the fragmentary inscription published in *Bull. Com.* 1899, 36.

which, if prolonged, it would fall) which skirts the E. bank of Pantano Secco, and ascends to the cemetery of Frascati, and thence onwards, passing close to the avenue of the Villa Borghese, and W. of the Villa Mondragone, to Tusculum.¹

It may even be suggested that this road running straight on to Tusculum was the original road, and that the Via Labicana was constructed afterwards. On any other theory the sudden sharp turn of the Via Labicana is very hard to account for, as the country which the road passes through presents at this point no difficult problems of engineering. After the sharp turn the road descends slightly, and then ascends through a cutting to the top of the next ridge, reaching as it does so the boundary of the Agro Romano which it follows fairly closely for some distance. Upon the top of the hill the pavement is again clearly visible. The "Torraccio" (point 99) is not a mediaeval tower (there is no trace of mediaeval work about it), but a water reservoir of Roman date. Such errors are not at all uncommon in the Italian staff maps, not to speak of far graver and not less frequent errors of omission, when extensive ruins, visible for a considerable distance, are not even marked on the map.

To the S. and S.E. of this reservoir upon the edge of the hill overlooking the road there was apparently a large villa. We found bricks (one of which bore the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 1174 a, of 134 A.D.) and cubes of a mosaic pavement. Along the ridge further N.W. are traces of buildings (brick and marble) and many paving stones, so that it is not impossible that a *deverticulum* ran along the ridge and fell into the Via Labicana here.

The road now descends the hill, passing S. of the "Torraccio," and crosses the two branches of the Fosso di Tor di Bella Monaca about twenty yards to the S. of their junction. Its pavement is seen in good preservation in the smaller (W.) branch, and also the traces of a (comparatively) modern bridge, and some of its pavingstones are seen in each bank of the larger stream, but most have been washed further down. The exact line taken by the road in crossing is determined to be E.S.E. by a mass of rock squared to form the base of a tomb which stands on the N. side of the road, a few yards back from it and close to the E. bank of the stream. The road still follows the boundary of the Agro Romano, until the top of the hill is reached. Here the boundary turns sharply southwards, while the road keeps on E.S.E. Precisely at the site of the tenth

¹ I owe my knowledge of the existence of the last section of this road to Padre Grossi-Gondi.

milestone we reach the Catacombs of St. Zoticus, the history and full description of which are given by Stevenson in his *Cimitero di Zotico* (Modena, 1876). The catacombs are placed *in fundo Capreoli milliario X* by the Martyrologies (*ibid.* p. 15). They are quite wrongly located in the map given in *C.I.L.* xiv. Stevenson (p. 88) tells us that in the excavations of 1850 the pavement of the road was discovered in front of the entrance, at a distance of about 10 m. (*ibid.* p. 24). The catacombs are in a deplorable state, entirely rifled, with the loculi all empty (*op. cit.* p. 12). To the S.E. of them, on the top of the hill, are heaps of marble and brick, belonging to a villa, or perhaps to some building connected with the catacombs. An inscription found in the catacombs (*op. cit.* p. 36), which may be assigned to a date not earlier than the eighth nor later than the twelfth century, speaks of the erection of a portico with a tower; and we know that in the twelfth century there was a church here, dependent upon the abbey of Grottaferrata. Their origin is probably due to their proximity to the ager Pupinius (p. 234). (Cf. De Rossi, *Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1873, 113; Stevenson, *op. cit.* p. 97.)

Beyond the catacombs the road continues to run E.S.E. for a short distance, and some remains of the brick tombs lining it are visible. It then turned somewhat sharply almost to the E.N.E. and descended to cross the small stream (the exact place cannot be determined, but probably it was just where the two branches unite), and then began to ascend again to the road known as the Via Cavona (p. 176), just before crossing which it passed close to a large brick tomb (which apparently had a portico in front of it) which faces 28° E. of S. Here was found the sepulchral cippus of L. Tarius Speratus, published by Tomassetti in *Bull. Com.* 1895, 281. Several fragments of marble from tombs lie scattered about here. On the E. side of the Via Cavona the boundary of the Agro Romano, separating it from the tenuta di SS. Apostoli (cf. Rosa in *Bull. Inst.*, 1856, 154), returns to the Via Labicana, and follows it for nearly a mile until the Fosso di Prata Porci is reached. The field wall which marks the boundary is full of the pavingstones of the road, and just N. of it, on the W. slope of the hill, is a travertine block, with a shallow depression 4 feet square cut in it, which perhaps served to hold the base of a sepulchral cippus.

At point 114 is a water reservoir, and the Torraccio di Forama, further N. still, is built upon another—a single chamber of considerable length, with the sides supported by buttresses.

IV.—FROM PRATA PORCI TO AD QUINTANAS

(from the Eleventh to the Fifteenth Milestone).

The site of the eleventh milestone is about 100 yards to the W. of the Fosso di Prata Porci, almost due N. of the ruins of a large building on the hill, probably a water reservoir, which is marked on the military map as "SS. Apostoli." On the S. side of this hill, above the Valle della Morte, are the remains of several villas. Furthest to the N.W., on the top of a mound marked in the map 132 m., are extensive remains of concrete foundations and opus reticulatum walls, with fragments of marble and brick. Two of the latter bore the stamps *C.I.L.* xv. 1026 a, (circa 123 A.D.), 2272 (first century A.D.). To the S. are two well-shafts cut into the rock to some considerable depth, and further S.E. is a water reservoir on the top of the hill. Further up the valley again, close to the point where the aqueducts of the *Claudia* and *Anio Novus* cross it (the subterranean channel of the former is now occupied by the stream for a short distance, one of the original putei being still in fair preservation, while the piers of the bridge of the latter still remain), are traces of a villa. I saw a fine marble cornice and some terra-cotta water (or hot air) pipes embedded in plaster. Here was found a marble tablet bearing the following inscription in badly cut letters 2 cm. high. The inscription, which has been since published in *Not. Scav.* 1901, 327, I copied on the spot.

D M
 FECIT · BATI *sic*
 NIANVS · F
 RATI · SVO · A *sic*
 GATHOPO
 BENEMERE
 NTI · QVIVIB *sic*
~~IXITANNIS~~

On the hill above the villa is a large water reservoir, consisting of many small short interconnected passages hewn in the rock, which is coated with strong cement. A similar reservoir exists in a fine state of preservation in the centre of the upper platform of the large Roman villa in the garden of the Villa Doria at Albano.

From the crossing of the Fosso di Prata Porci the line of the road is marked by another field wall built of its pavingstones, until it reaches the track from the Osteria del Finocchio to Prata Porci, which is, in all probability, an ancient road, many of its pavingstones having been used in the field wall which flanks it.¹ It is possible that on the W. side of the gorge which leads to the valley of Prata Porci there was another ancient road, as here too the field wall is full of pavingstones.

The valley of Prata Porci, which lies about half a mile to the S. of the road, is a large basin, evidently of volcanic origin. It has by some authors (Abeken, *Mittelitalien*, 67, Tomassetti, *Via Latina*, 171 (note), 227, 259, 261) been identified with Lake Regillus—an identification which I have attempted to disprove in *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, 1898, 118 (cf. *Classical Review*, 1898, 470). The basin has two outlets, one on the N., another on the W., through both of which run considerable streams; and the various discoveries made in the bed of it, which are described in my article cited above, render it extremely improbable that it was a lake in historical times. Among these discoveries is that of the remains of a large thermal establishment described by Tomassetti in *Not. Scav.* 1897, 458; *Mittheilungen*, 1897, pp. 83–85. It was apparently constructed in the first century A.D., the columns being of peperino coated with stucco, and rebuilt or added to in the second. I found among the remains the brick stamp² *C.I.L.* xv. 1174a, of 134 A.D., and Novius Crispinus, whose name occurs on some lead pipes which were discovered here, was consul-designate in 151 A.D. (*C.I.L.* xv. 7843). Pipes have also been found here bearing the inscription SER OCTAVI LAENATIS PONTIANI (consul A.D. 131,

¹ Padre Grossi-Gondi informs me that he has traced this road onwards in a S.S.E. direction, passing between the Villa Mondragone and the large Roman villa known as Le Cappellette (not to be confounded with the villa mentioned below on p. 260, which lies S. of Monte Compatri). The inscription on a waterpipe found here (*C.I.L.* xv. 7822), *Matidiae Aug. fil.* leaves it uncertain whether this villa belonged to the older or the younger Matidia.

² I also saw here the lip of a *dolium* bearing the following stamp, which I published in *Rendiconti dei Lincei loc. cit.*

	corona.	nux pinea	

cadu-	T · VETII · C · F · ARN	ramus	
ceus	* CLEMENTIS *	palmae	
	STEPIANVS · S · FEC ·		

	nux pinea.	corona	

On the side of the *dolium* the following numbers were scratched: XXXIII K VII, showing that the capacity of the *dolium* was 34 amphorae 7 heminae.

C.I.L. xv. 7845), and Tomassetti (*Mitth. l. c.* cf. *C.I.L.* xv. 7844) mentions the discovery on this occasion of pipes bearing the name of Octavius Laenas, who, according to Dressel, may have been his grandfather. Statues of some considerable importance were also found here, including one, 0·70 m. in height, of a new type of Apoxyomenos (*Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift*, 1897, 30), the fate of which I do not know. It may be noted that the identification (founded on the discovery of these lead pipes bearing the inscription NOVI CRISPINI) which Tomassetti proposes between this spot and the *fundus Crispinis et amonetis Via Labicana miliario plus minus XIII.* (or *XIII.*—Martinucci, *Collectio Canonum*, p. 324) *ex corpore massæ Fistis*, mentioned in the register of Gregory IX., must be rejected, unless the text of the Register is to be altered, the true distance from Rome being only a little over eleven miles.

More important is the fact that the two bridges of the aqueducts of the Claudia and the Anio Novus are visible side by side, crossing the stream which runs through the middle of the valley, while the stream which passes through the outlet on the W. runs, as we have noticed (p. 243), through the actual specus of the Aqua Claudia. The remains of the aqueducts in this district are in fact of great interest, and up till now unnoticed by topographers; but to attempt to go into detail would lead us too far from the matter in hand. A short preliminary account of the results of our explorations appeared in the *Classical Review* (1900, 325).

The course of the road after the point where we left it cannot be fixed with absolute precision, but it evidently curved round the foot of the Colle S. Isidoro, passing not far S. of the Casale Corvio (perhaps at the point of junction of the two branches of the Fosso di Fontana Candida), which occupies a commanding position, and rests in part upon ancient concrete foundations belonging, probably, to a Roman villa. A very large one certainly existed about half a mile to the N.N.W., at the point where the road from the Casale joins the cart-track from Prata Porci to the Osteria del Finocchio. To the S. of the road, on the slope of the hill, are traces of other villas. Two small water reservoirs are still in existence, and much brick and marble lies scattered about. One of the bricks bore the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 1244 a (end of first century A.D.).

After crossing the western branch of the Fosso di Fontana Candida, the road rose slightly, passing by a large tomb of opus quadratum with white marble facing, of which traces still exist. On the top of the hill, above the

road, are the remains of the mosaic pavements and marble decorations of a large villa. The road skirts the slope beneath this villa and enters the Vigna Sciarra. Here remains of tombs give its direction as 20° S. of E. One of these is a block of tufa *in situ*, measuring 0.8 m. in depth, 0.70 in width, and 0.41 in height (so far as preserved), and bearing the following inscription in letters of the third or fourth century 0.05 m. in height.



Another block of tufa, also *in situ*, at a distance of some 20 yards further N., has precisely the same orientation. In the vineyard were found the brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 633 a, 515 a (the latter of 134 A.D.), coming probably from tombs.

We are now at the mouth of the deep valley of the main Fosso di Fontana Candida. Somewhere in this valley (probably near point 138) must have taken place the discovery of a quantity of lead waterpipes, described by Stevenson (MS. cit. f. 2') as having occurred in 1886 on the left of the path from Fontana Candida to Corvio, at the point where the pavement of a *deverticulum* from I Trugli (p. 247) had recently been destroyed.

In the stream, under a small bridge built entirely of fragments of paving-stones and chips of marble, is a marble cippus, measuring 1.13×0.40 m. Any inscription that may have existed has, probably, been long since obliterated by the water. A little further up, the pavement of the road is visible *in situ* in the W. bank of the stream, running 35° E. of S. It turns still further S. (I saw the pavement *in situ* a year or two ago, running nearly due S.: it has since been removed), passing the site of the twelfth milestone, and then turned again (the exact point is marked by a square tomb of concrete). At this point (138 m. above sea-level) a road diverges to the E., of which more will be said later. To the N. are the remains of a villa, near a new house, with a large system of underground passages for water storage. In a small stream still further N.E., and W. of the villa at point 126, I found a fragment of a brickstamp / EST /.

The Via Labicana ran 30° S. of E. over the shoulder of the hill, descending again into the Valle dei Trugli. In this valley there is an interesting group of tombs, in fine preservation, the orientation of which determines the direction of the road to be 25° S. of E. Some are of concrete, others of opus quadratum. The latter are hardly preserved above

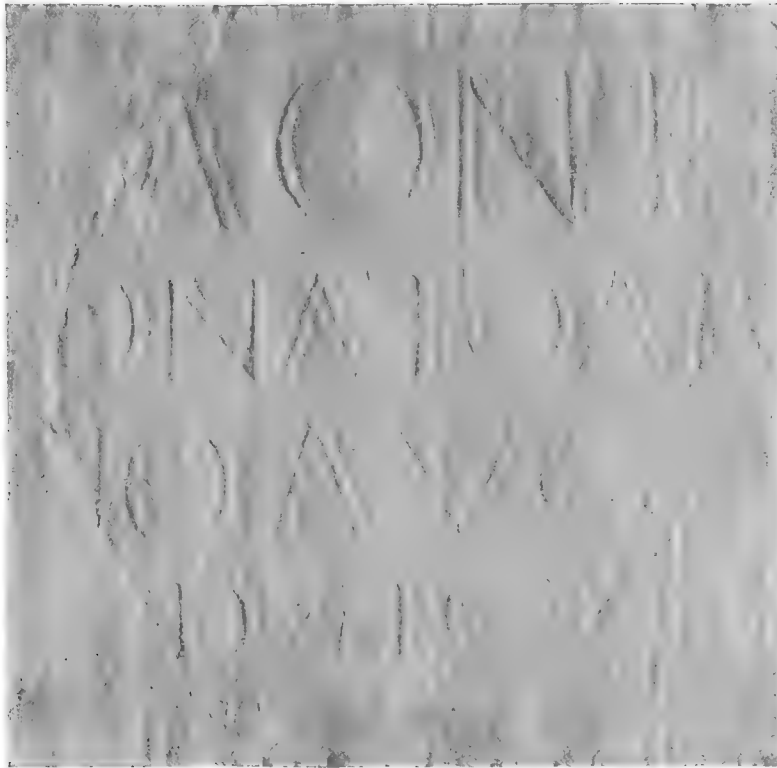


FIG. 19.—INSCRIPTION FROM I TRUGLI. ($\frac{2}{3}$ of actual size.)

the foundation level, the large blocks of which they are built having been removed for use elsewhere; but two of the tombs of concrete are quite conspicuous and have given their name to the place.¹

¹ Truglio or Trullo means something circular: hence the name Lo Trullo, given to the great round tower where the Aurelian walls start from the left bank of the Tiber, to run towards the Porta Flaminia. These tombs were originally square, at any rate at the base, but have now become rounded masses.

I saw in 1901 an inscription (Fig. 19) which was found here.¹ It is carved upon a slab of white marble, and is only a small fragment of the whole, as it is complete at the top and on the right hand, and only a portion of the cognomen remains in the first line. It may be perhaps restored as follows: [*donis militaribus d*]onato ab [*imp. Caes. T. Fl. Vespasia*]no Aug. . . . [*>leg. v. Mac*]ed*>leg x.* The lettering is particularly fine—the form of the G is rare in the first century A.D., but not unknown; cf. Hübner, *Exempla Scripturae Epigraphicae*, prolegomena ad litt. G, who cites an African inscription of 30 A.D. (no. 233), an inscription from Pompeii (no. 335), and another from Spain (no. 426), both of the time of Vespasian, and one from Rome of the time of Domitian (*C.I.L.* vi. 8798). With this inscription was found (so I was told) a gold ring weighing 29 grammes.

There were also found here three lamps, all undecorated above, but bearing stamped inscriptions on the bottom: (a) FORTIS (*C.I.L.* xv.

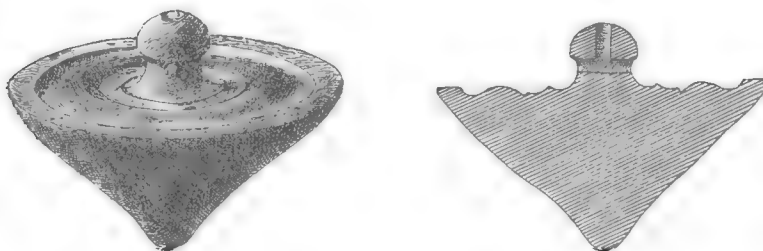


FIG. 20.—BRONZE PLUMMET FROM I TRUGLI. ($\frac{1}{4}$ of actual size.)

6450), (b) C·OPPI·RES (*C.I.L.* xv. 6593), while the third bears the stamp of a foot. Further, the fine bronze plummet reproduced in Fig. 20 was discovered here. The original is in the possession of Professor F. W. Kelsey, of the University of Michigan, U.S.A., to whom I am indebted for the use of the drawing.

From this point a *deverticulum* ascends extremely steeply to the S.W.; its pavement is well preserved in places. On reaching the top of the hill it is crossed by another ancient road running S.E. There were naturally numerous by-roads in this district, affording intercommunica-

¹ The photograph reproduced was taken from a paper squeeze. The inscription has been published in *Not. Scav.* 1901, 327, from a copy of the same squeeze, which I gave to Prof. Tomassetti.

tion between the villas with which, as a glance at the map will show, it abounded. Upon the hill above I Trugli are the remains of a villa in opus reticulatum with stone quoins, which was richly decorated with marbles.

The specus of the Claudia and Anio Novus are at this point just on the S. of the road, which soon (at any rate before the E. branch of the Fosso della Forma Rotta¹ is reached) crosses them. Both are below ground, the specus of the Claudia being accessible, while two putei of the Anio Novus are to be seen. The Marcia and Anio Vetus crossed this valley about a kilomètre further N., after the union of its two branches. A puteus of the former exists on each bank of the stream, the W. bank of which is in several places supported by a wall of large polygonal blocks, so as to protect the aqueducts, which either crossed it at a low level or passed just beneath its bed.

From the Valle dei Trugli the road ascends somewhat sharply to the site of the thirteenth milestone. Its pavement was fairly well preserved for the greater part of the distance up till 1900, when it was destroyed. About half a mile to the N. lies Torre Iacova, a mediaeval tower crowning the N. extremity of the Colle Mattia, which forms the centre of an important group of remains.

The whole of this hill has recently passed under cultivation, and this has led to the discovery and destruction of many ancient buildings.² Close to the site of the thirteenth milestone a group of tombs has been discovered, with many architectural fragments of white marble, including a Corinthian capital 0·38 m. in diameter at the top, and 0·26 at the bottom (Fig. 21).



Not far from this point, in a vineyard, Stevenson found, in July 1890, the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 2269 (*T. Quincti / Q. Suavis*), and, "in a vineyard wall near the tombs of the Via Labicana at Forma Rotta" (is the reference to I Trugli?), a fragment of a curved stamp

❧ ST·M·

The road referred to as diverging to the E. just after the twelfth mile-

¹ The name ("broken aqueduct") is significant.

² While these papers have been in progress, further agricultural operations have led to the discovery and destruction of remains of various buildings and of the specus of the Aqua Claudia and Anio Novus. The brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 2343 (1st century A.D.) and a fragment of an un-

published stamp  Λ ∇ T ∇ ... were discovered. The lettering of the latter stamp is good and of an early type: the points are triangular.

stone reappears¹ in two branches on the W. side of the Colle Mattia, both ascending to it from the stream which descends from the Valle dei Trugli. Another ancient road apparently diverged to the N. from the northernmost branch, but is not traceable beyond the tower. Nor can either of these roads be followed with certainty further E., though it is not unlikely that they ran to the Colle della Lite, which is also covered with the remains of villas, while the aqueducts of the Marcia and Anio Vetus tunnel under it. Another road probably ran S. along the ridge to join the Via

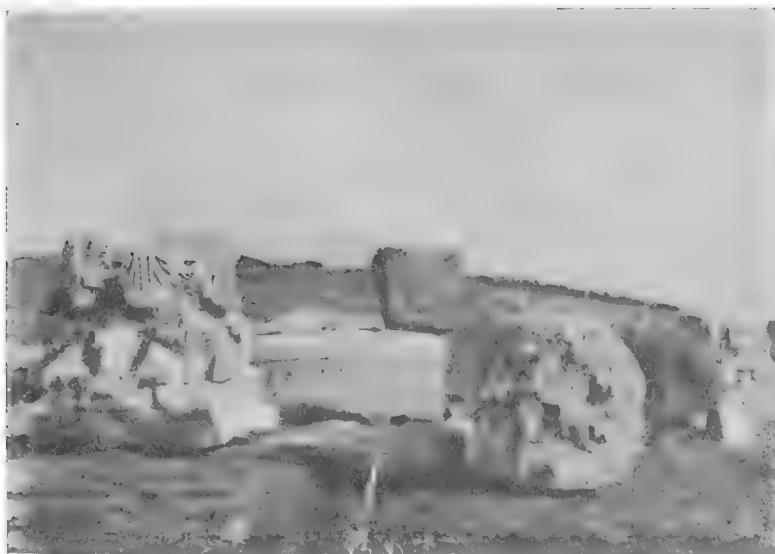


FIG. 21.—ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENTS AT THIRTEENTH MILESTONE.

Labicana at the thirteenth mile; the existence of a large tombstone, resembling those described on p. 175, may serve as an indication. (See also p. 252).

Turning to the remains on the hill of Torre Iacova, we have, to the W., at point 155 on the map, a water reservoir of late date, built entirely of concrete made with masses of aqueduct deposit, and faced partly with bands of brickwork. To the W. of this a round water reservoir, about 10 m. in diameter, was discovered in the spring of the year 1901. I was informed that the floor was still perfect, and still retained water, and saw terra-cotta

¹ The pavement of both these roads, which I saw in 1900 in fair preservation, has recently been removed.

supply pipes which had been found running westward from it. Close by I saw the lip of a dolium bearing the following (unpublished) inscription stamped upon it :—

FABI · C · F 


The lettering is good.

To the N. in the vineyard are traces of a villa, among which was found a tomb of late date formed by a gabled roof of tiles, one of which bore the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 706 (134 A.D.). Close to Torre Iacova was also found the brickstamp *C.I.L.* xv. 515a (134 A.D.).¹ To the E. is a tomb, orientated E.S.E., of concrete faced with brickwork which still contains the marble plugs which were used to hold the marble lining slabs firmly. Beyond these again are the remains of a villa rustica in opus quadratum and selce concrete, among which were found two brickstamps : *C.I.L.* xv. 2346, and a fragment ANNIVE ... (hollow letters), which may belong to either *C.I.L.* xx. 454, 479a or 806b (cf. 1875), and dates from the time of Hadrian.² To the S. of this is a water reservoir in the side of the hill.

The extensive view obtainable from the site may explain the frequency of buildings here. On the E. slope of the hill are remains of a different character. There is a large platform facing E.S.E., formed on three sides by a wall of rough, irregular blocks of selce, apparently of somewhat primitive construction, and below it are traces of a similar wall, possibly belonging to an ancient road. Above the platform are one or two walls of opus quadratum running up the hill, also traces of concrete and mosaic pavement. It is possible that the earlier remains are those of a primitive settlement, but their meaning is not very clear.³ If there was an ancient road running N. and S. here below the platform, it would unite with the

¹ To the N. of the tower, lying by the path, I found *C.I.L.* xv. 1408 : I do not know the precise point at which it was discovered.

² On my last visit I found here another stamp (see *Not. Scav.* 1899, 50)

 M · FVL
S O S

also part of the side of a dolium marked LXVIII in letters 85 mm. high.

³ It is worthy of remark in this connection that Michele Stefano de Rossi (*Secondo Rapporto sugli studi paleontologici*, p. 16 from *Giornale Arcadico*, 1878, vol. lviii.) mentions the existence of a neolithic station in the neighbourhood of Torre Iacova. I acquired in 1901 a small axe-head of greenstone, said to have been found at the mouth of the Fosso di Fontana Candida a mile further W., and was told that many similar fragments had been seen in the vineyard. It is also noteworthy that in the E. bank of the Fosso della Lite, close to the bridge of the Aqua Marcia, a rock-cut tomb is to be seen.

Labicana at the thirteenth milestone. Its existence is, however, rather doubtful. Upon the Colle della Lite, to the E. of Torre Iacova, are the remains of several villas, none of which present any features of particular note.

The thirteenth milestone marks the meeting place of one or two roads. The existence of a road running from Torre Iacova southwards along the ridge of the hill is made practically certain by the discovery of paving-stones on the E. of the large reservoir, close to the thirteenth milestone (see below), and there may have been another skirting the eastern slope of the hill; while there was almost certainly a third road (the pavingstones of which are to be seen in the field-walls, though none perhaps exist *in situ*) following the Claudia and Anio Novus in an easterly direction.

At the thirteenth milestone the register of Gregory IX. mentions a "fundus Crispinis et amonetis, Via Labicana milliario plus minus xiii., ex corpore massae Fistis," belonging to the patrimonium Lavicanum, perhaps identical with the "massa Festi praepositi Sacri cubiculi territorio Penestrino" given by Constantine, with the massa Gaba, to the baptistery of the Lateran (*Lib. Pont.* i. 55 ed. Mommsen). Stevenson (*Cimitero di Zotico*, p. 98) notices that not far off (below Monte Doddo, which lies some two miles to the S.E.) an inscription of a (Vale)rius? Priscus (. . .)lius Festus aed. pleb. Cer(ialis) quaestor urbanus was discovered (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2768), and, citing an inscription found in the Catacomb of St. Zoticus of a certain Refrigerius, set up by his father Refrigerius and his mother Valeria Sebera Laeontia (*sic*), supposes that the Valerii owned property in the district.

The Via Labicana itself now turns almost at right angles, and runs 30° E. of S. for a short distance. Its pavement is here easily traceable, though not for the full width. Just on the E. of it is a large rectangular water reservoir open to the air, to the N. of which are the traces of a villa, among which were found the brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 515a (134 A.D.), 617, 1318, 2350a and a fragment of a lunate stamp, with only one line of lettering, bearing the following letters

RCIPIRR!
(Mar)ci Pirri

while to the S. is an extensive system of small passages, 3 feet in width and about the height of a man, cut in the rock and cemented, which served for the storage of water. The road soon reaches the Macchia (or brushwood)

di Fontana Candida. One branch of it, perhaps the original road to Labici, runs straight on, crossing the railway nearly a mile W. of Monte Compatri station, where its pavingstones may still be seen, having been only recently removed. It continues to go southwards, as Rosa pointed out, and Chaupy (*Maison de Campagne d'Horace*, ii. 174) before him, past Monte Mellone¹ and the ruins at I Pallotta which, though largely mediaeval, are built upon ancient foundations,² until it reaches the valley between Monte Porzio Catone and Monte Doddo, where it turns eastwards and winds up, to Monte Compatri (p. 260) which, as we shall see later, is in all probability the representative of the ancient Labici.

The Via Labicana,³ (a piece of the paving of which is *in situ* just inside the wood, besides which many pavingstones may be seen in the field-wall), after running 35° E. of S. for a short distance, and passing between two tombs, the concrete foundations of which still exist, soon

¹ Upon the N. slope of Monte Mellone there is a very large water reservoir constructed in opus reticulatum, sunk below ground, 41·85 m. in length, divided into two aisles, each 5 m. in height and 3·30 m. in width, by a partition wall 0·89 m. in thickness, pierced by eleven arches, each 2·35 m. in height and span. Further down the hill, on the north-western slope, are the remains of the villa which it supplied—a platform supported on the W. side only by a wall, in front of which is a large cryptoporticus in opus incertum.

On the E. side of the road are the remains of a villa, broken up to facilitate cultivation, and some fragments of a very large inscription (the letters are well but not deeply cut, and are 17 to 18 cm. in height), cut upon white marble blocks 20 cm. in thickness. Too little remains to give any clue to the subject of the inscription as a whole—not even one whole word can be restored.

² See Lanciani, *Bull. Com.* 1884, p. 210; *C.I.L.* xiv. 2925. These ruins are upon the N. of the modern road from Frascati to Colonna; but the house on the S. of it is also built upon the remains of some ancient structure. It is doubtful whether the ancient road from the Macchia di Fontana Candida to Monte Compatri ran E. of this house, as the modern path does, or W. of it; the latter alternative seems more probable. It may even have descended straight to C. Statuti, taking up the line of the boundary of the Agro Romano (cf. p. 195). The further question arises whether the remains on each side of the modern road from Frascati to Colonna belong to the same group, which would make the antiquity of this latter road extremely doubtful. The present road is, in many places, of recent construction, the older road having degenerated into a path. At the point under discussion, however, the two coincide. Interesting remarks on the subject by Stevenson are to be found in his MS. notes—*vol. cit.* f. 23—of August 21st, 1890. He considers its antiquity improbable, as it appears to him to pass between buildings belonging to a single group, not only at Pallotta, but a little further W., to the S. of Casale Statuti, where there are the remains of a large water reservoir on the S. of the road, and of the platform at a villa on the N., both orientated in the same direction. In a field-wall near the reservoir Stevenson found part of a rectangular brickstamp DVARI. It seems possible that the ancient road may have run higher up. Stevenson himself discovered such a road running parallel to the modern one, but could not trace it further than the large villa known as Le Cappelletto (p. 260). Its direction, however, is such that, if prolonged, it would have joined the Via Labicana at Ad Quintanas. The existence of some artery of communication, corresponding to, though perhaps not identical with, the modern road from Frascati to Colonna, is practically certain.

³ Capmartin de Chaupy mentions the pavement of the road as existing in this wood in his day.

turned again sharply and crossed a small stream by a bridge, a good deal of which is preserved. The direction of the road was here 10° S. of E. The bridge was quite small, almost a culvert, but built of massive opus quadratum, and seems to have been 5.70 m. wide. After crossing the bridge it again turned and ran 20° S. of E. up the hill, at the top of which it turned E. again (a piece of pavement is visible *in situ* here), and ran in this direction down the E. slope of the hill. The field-wall which marks the boundary of the wood is full of the pavingstones which have been removed from it.

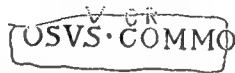
The removal of the undergrowth of the Macchia with a view to the use of the ground for cultivation (the trees had long disappeared) has led to the discovery of the remains of buildings on the S.W. of the road, including a piece of a marble cornice from a round mausoleum. Among the bricks was the stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 494 a (123 A.D.). It is curious and characteristic of this particular road that no cutting of any sort has been made to give it a more level course, but that it runs upon the surface of the ground. Where the Macchia ends in a point the road leaves it and runs along a bank forming the boundary between two vineyards, in which its pavement may be seen. After this point it crosses the valley (here it is followed by the boundary between the Agro Romano and the territory of Monteporzio), and follows a line still marked by a fieldpath to the pointsman's cottage W. of the station of Colonna. The fieldwall at the side of the path is full of the pavingstones of the road, which must have been in perfect preservation not so very many years ago.

The fourteenth milestone fell between this point and the railway station of Colonna.¹ Here there must have existed a church of St. Hyacinthus, inasmuch as we find in the Martyrology (*Cod. Bernensis*, 4th August). *Via Lavicana milliario ab Urbe xiiii. nat(a)lis s(an)c(t)i Sachinti* (sic). (Stevenson *Cimitero di Zotico*. p. 94).² A diverticulum which must have left it in the Macchia may be seen running S.S.E. on the W. bank of the Valle Pignola, just N. of the railway. It probably ran S., along the line still followed by a fieldpath to I Pallotta, though I know of no certain traces of it, and was in fact told that it turned sharply to the E. to rejoin

¹ The distance between the 14th and 15th milestones is a trifle too great on the map. This is due to some inaccuracies in the military map, which were only discovered when my map was already drawn, so that complete correction was impossible.

² There was also on this road a Catacomb of the SS. Quattuor Coronati, the locality of which is unknown (Stevenson in Kraus's *Realencyclopädie*, ii. 113).

the Via Labicana. Traces do however exist of a road on the S. of the line running 30° W. of S. in the vineyard N. of the villa described on p. 253, n. 1. Close to the road on the N. side of the line is a block of selce (a material rarely used for this purpose) bearing the following inscription in letters 6 cm. high



About 500 yards still further W. is a piece of pavement on the S. edge of the railway, and about 15 feet above its level, while 100 yards further W. are several more pavingstones, not *in situ*, but apparently removed from an ancient road discovered when the railway was made.

The Via Labicana is crossed by the railway just W. of the station of Colonna, where its pavement was discovered in 1891. (*Not. Scav.* 1891, 35.) It is described as being 6 m. in width, with the margins well preserved. On the left were found the remains of columbaria, on the right large blocks of marble from the base of some tomb. Remains of the tombs which flanked it may still be seen in the banks on each side of the railway and in the adjoining vineyards (a brick tomb which existed N. of the station has been only recently destroyed). The road was running, apparently, almost due E.

About 500 yards E. of the station the railway cuts through a water reservoir, considerable remains of which may be seen on its N. side; close to it in the cutting is a rock-cut drain. On the S. side of the railway-cutting is a two-storied tomb. The lower chamber is 3.55 m. square inside, faced with opus reticulatum; the upper part is also square, and was perhaps a solid mass of concrete. All these buildings are orientated on the same line, and perhaps indicate the direction of the road, which may have passed just S. of them, as 40° S. of E. Its exact course is however uncertain, as the vineyards through which its line now passes have been long under cultivation, and all traces of the road itself have been destroyed. Rosa (*Bull. Inst.* 1856, 154) traced the road as going precisely in this direction, between the vineyard of Mgr. Pentini (the Casale Pentini is called in the Staff Map Casale S. Paolo) and the vineyard "di Gesù e Maria," which is now the property of Signor Eugenio Ciuffa, and known by his name. The Casale Ciuffa occupies the site of a large villa of opus incertum, largely restored in the third century A.D. with brickwork and small stones,

upon the remains of which it is built. To the N. of it is a lower platform, carried on vaulted substructures. Excavations made here in 1882 are described in *Not. Scav.* 1882, 416; 1883, 85; 1884, 157; and *Bull. Com.* 1884, 207. The villa had four terraces and faced E. The first terrace had a cryptoporticus 140 m. long, the second formed a rectangle 100 × 30 m.; the third contained a water reservoir of 90 × 15 m., while the fourth terrace had a portico supported by buttresses in opus incertum. Two male busts, one representing the orator Lysias, the brickstamps *C.I.L.* xv. 1327, 2328b, 2329 (beginning of the second century A.D.), 2340 (probably the first century A.D.), and the lead pipes *C.I.L.* xiv. 2775, 2776 (= *C.I.L.* xv 7862, 7871) were found in the course of the excavations. The former bears the inscription, *A. Fabius Parami[tius fec]*, the latter *C. Vetienius* It is wrongly stated in *Not. Scav.* 1882, 416, that both inscriptions occurred on the same pipe, which is said to have been found *in situ*, built into the wall of a circular piscina 10 m. in diameter. Two inscriptions are built into the walls of the Casale, *C.I.L.* xiv. 2770, 2782.¹ The exact locality of their discovery is unfortunately unknown—had this been certain, the controversy as to the site of Labici might have been satisfactorily settled in Fabretti's time, for, while both are sepulchral, the text of the first of them runs *D.M. Parthenio arcario reipublicae Lavicanorum Quintanensium*. It is obvious that the *respublica Lavicanorum Quintanensium* can be nothing else than the municipality of the roadside station Ad Quintanas, mentioned by the Itineraries as the first station on the Via Labicana, 15 miles distant from Rome, which took the place of the destroyed hilltown of Labici,² situated, according to Strabo (*l.c.* p. 235), a little more than 15 miles from Rome, on a hill on the right of the road. Recent discoveries have, however, finally decided the question. Some 700 yards E.N.E. of the Casale Ciuffa is the concrete core of a very large tomb. The upper part is round, while

¹ With 2770 was found the brickstamp, *C.I.L.* xv. 462 c (from the praedia Quintanensia, which were situated not far from the station Ad Quintanas: see *C.I.L.* xv. p. 8), also the Greek inscription Kaibel *I.G.I.* 1011, which mentions a grove sacred to the Muses, a statue of Venus, a statue of Domitian (Villa Albani), and a bust of Lucius Verus, and three others. See Vitale, *De oppido Labici dissertatio* (1778), p. 36; *Lettere di Winckelmann*, ed. Fea, iii. 247–251; Cavaceppi, *Raccolta d'Antiche Statue*, i. 2, Stevenson, *Cimitero di Zotico*, p. 93 (who cites a letter of Lami, dated May 15th, 1758a). The inscriptions *C.I.L.* xiv. 2773, 2783, were also found here, and the fragments *ibid.* 2767, 2771, 2778. In the *Lettere di Winckelmann*, ed. Fea, iii. 246, there is a notice of excavations in the Borghese property at Torre Verde (which I have not been able to locate) in which were found many fluted columns of marble and granite.

² Dessau (*C.I.L.* xiv. p. 275, note 5) denies, but on insufficient grounds, the theory, advanced first by Ficoroni, that the site of Ad Quintanas was different from that of the old town of Labici.

the base is square, and gives the probable direction of the Via Labicana as 12° S. of E. at this point. There is a sepulchral chamber in the upper part of the tomb, but the only entrance is from the top, through a narrow shaft 20 feet deep.¹ Just to the E. of this tomb, in the Vigna Moretti, there was discovered in 1899 a marble base, now preserved in the municipal museum at Frascati, which bears a dedicatory inscription to the Emperor Maximian from the *ordo Labicanorum Quintanensium*.² The base had, however, previously served for other uses. Upon the front there are traces of an earlier inscription consisting of 16 lines, most of which was obliterated to make room for the later ; while on the left side are (probably) the names of the consuls of 196 A.D., C. Domitius Dexter ii. and L. Valerius Messalla Thræsea Priscus, and of the *quattuorviri iure dicundo* of the municipality. The base originally supported a statue, the lower part of which (if not the whole) appears to have been cut out of the same block of marble, as the pedestal of the statue coalesces with the upper part of the base. The difficulty of deciphering the two successive inscriptions of the front of the base is increased by the fact that the whole was erased after the *damnatio memoriae* of Maximian, while the lateral inscription was much damaged by being fixed against a wall and covered with mortar. The text is given by Tomassetti in the *Bullettino Comunale* for 1899, 289, and repeated in the *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1900, 50. His reproduction of it is unsatisfactory only in that he does not distinguish the letters which belong to the two inscriptions ; and a very careful examination of the original has not enabled me to decipher more than he has done. I have, however, given my own copies, as they present some slight differences.

Of the first inscription I could read hardly anything, except in the last 5 of the 16 lines, which run thus :

SC	P		COIL	TO
ST	T		X	N'
EX				O
BAT		DIOLVABATIANO		
FRATRI · L · D · D · D ·				

¹ Tomassetti (*Bull. Com.* 1899, 288, *Not. Scav.* 1900, 50) gives a fragment of an inscription in travertine, with letters 22 cm. high, which may have belonged to this tomb.

² This is most probably the meaning of the abbreviation Q.Q.

The inscription on the side I read thus :

K · IVNIS (June 1st, 196 A.D.?)
 DEXTRO · II · C
 TRASIOH / SS
 NESTHL · BAE
 SINCHAERONI
 III VIR

The second inscription of the front I read thus :

L·T¹
MAXIMIANO·S
INBICTO
ORDO LABICAN
Q·Q·
·D·N·M·Q·EIVS

The topographical importance is, however, certain ; and it is further to be noted that many pavingstones of the ancient road were found when this base was discovered,² and also blocks of sperone (*lapis Gabinus*), slabs of marble, cornices, &c., attributed by Tomassetti, with some measure of probability, to the Forum of Labici Quintanenses, which must have been, like Fidenae in Imperial times (see *Not. Scav.* 1889, 108 ; *C.I.L.* xiv. p. 453), a small roadside village at the junction of several by-roads with the highroad. Rosa noticed some remains of water reservoirs here, destroyed since his time to serve as material for the vineyard walls, which are full of bricks, masses of concrete and opus signinum, paving stones, &c.

The distance of the large mausoleum from Rome, following the line of the Via Labicana, is only just over 15 miles, so that it is practically certain that the site of Labici Quintanenses has at last been discovered. From this it follows that Labici must be placed on the hills to the S., and its identification with Monte Compatri is almost unavoidable. Rosa (*l. c.*) mentions two ancient diverticula leading to Monte Compatri, one of which

¹ Tomassetti ascribes the T in the first line to the first inscription.

² In the time of Capmartin de Chaupy it would seem that some of the pavement was preserved *in situ* just on the W. of the large tomb. *Maison de Campagne d'Horace*, ii, 174: "une des traces plus manifestes traversant un petit chemin à côté de la villa Pazzolini [la Pasolina]...dans la vigne dans laquelle il se perd...un Tombeau qui n'étoit pas de la dernière classe."

leaves the Via Labicana near the Casale Ciuffa,¹ the other a little to the E. of the large tomb. To these may be added a third, which I have traced on the south side only of the modern road from Frascati to Colonna, and which runs parallel to the first-mentioned, and rather more to the W. On its W. side, at a point where it leaves the modern highroad, there is the platform of a villa² built of polygonal blocks of selce, a style of construction which is far commoner in the district of Tivoli than in the Alban hills, while in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome it is unknown (p. 148). There it is a survival of an earlier style: here, though the polygonal style was used in the earliest times (p. 251), selce being the material employed, the existence of tufa, sperone, and peperino, all of them capable of being easily worked into rectangular blocks, soon led to the adoption of opus quadratum in its stead. Where this style of construction occurs in the Alban hills, therefore, in buildings of Roman date, it must be regarded as a mere imitation, intended probably for decorative purposes.

On the E. side of our road the remains of a large water reservoir were noticed by Stevenson (*l. c.*). Fragments of marble, brick, &c., from the villa to which it belonged may be seen in the dry walls which flank the high road. Higher up the same side is the Casale Mazzini, which probably rests upon ancient foundations, and in the vineyard attached to it are fragments of a building of opus quadratum of sperone, including a column 40 cm. in diameter.

At the Casale Mazzini there are a large number of pavingstones, and also at the chapel on the path we are following; and a little higher up are several *in situ* on the E. side of the path. We soon reach the remains of a large villa, which probably lay on the eastern edge of the ancient road. The villa was of brickwork. A pavement of black mosaic is actually cut through by the modern path.

The Casale Brandolini, a little further up, on the E. side of the modern path, is built upon an ancient water reservoir circular in shape, constructed upon a very curious plan and in an extremely good state of preservation. Outside are fragments of marble and brick.

The course of the road after the Casale Brandolini is doubtful, but it

¹ Another deverticulum ran from about this point northwards, passing through the vineyards of Le Marmorelle to the modern Via Casilina (p. 237), while another, probably diverging from it and not from the Labicana directly, ran eastwards, skirting the northern slopes of the hill on which the village of Colonna stands (*ib.*).

² There is much brick lying about. I also saw a drum of a tufa column 0·46 m. in diameter.

probably followed the modern path along the E. slopes of Monte Doddo (upon which, as far as I have been able to discover—and Stevenson's testimony bears me out—there are no ruins whatsoever), and on the S. of it joined the road from the Macchia di Fontana Candida and Pallotta to Monte Compatri (p. 253).

We may now turn to the first of the two roads described by Rosa. In the neighbourhood of the Fontana del Pischero are pavingstones which may have come either from this road or from the Via Labicana. It must have passed just E. of the Casale Ciuffa, and thence it ascends due southwards: a large number of pavingstones are to be seen in it, not *in situ*. About 250 yards from the modern highroad, and on the E. of the path, are the remains of a very large villa, known as Le Cappellette, and consisting of a huge wall supporting the earth on the N. and W. sides. There are eight niches on the N., one at the N.W. angle, and four on the W. These last vary in height according to the slope of the ground, which rises steeply towards the S. so that while the last but one measures 2·80 m. from the floor to the spring of the arch, the last measures only 1 m. The niches have floors of opus signinum, as if they had contained fountain jets; the one at the N.W. angle has in fact, a channel (0·14 m. wide) of tiles to protect a water-pipe.

Upon the platform itself no buildings are traceable, but there are many fragments of marble, painted stucco, &c.; and Stevenson saw pavingstones (not *in situ*) along the vineyard paths towards both the Colle di S. Andrea and La Pasolina. He also noticed, near a hut not far off, the drum of a marble column 0·16 m. in diameter, a fluted pilaster, 0·25 m. in width, and a brick bearing the well-known stamp OP·DOL·EX PR M AVRELI ANTO | NINI AVG N PORT LIC (*C.I.L.* xv. 408d). Close to this point our road is joined by the path from Pallotta mentioned above (p. 253, n. 2). Hence it ascends to Fontana Laura where it is joined by the second of the two deverticula mentioned by Rosa. This at present retains no positive traces of antiquity. At the house at point 281 on the W. of it are many pavingstones, the provenance of which is uncertain, and also the large marble drum of a column, some bricks, &c. After the Fontana Laura the path continues in a straight direction for some way, and then turns slightly to the W. and begins to ascend the hill known as the Salita del Romitorio,¹

¹ Vitale, (*op. cit.* pp. 22-24) refers to this road as a Roman road, and states that it starts from Le Marmorelle.

leading to the cemetery. About half-way up this hill is a wall in opus quadratum, about 100 yards long, running E. and W., serving as a supporting wall to the vineyard above it. Five courses of masonry are visible, and more must be concealed behind the accumulation of earth. The blocks of the second, third, and fourth courses from the bottom are respectively fifty-four, sixty, and sixty-eight cm. in height, and the stones (which are arranged as stretchers only) vary in length from 1'40 to



FIG. 22.—WALL BELOW MONTE COMPATRI.

2'15 m. The N.E. angle of the platform has fallen away, but the wall on the E. side of it may still be traced. The masonry is extremely neat, and the wall is probably nothing but the supporting wall of the platform of a large villa or, possibly, of a temple, though it may appear unnecessarily massive for this purpose. Upon the platform we saw the capital of a column in tufa 0'45 m. in diameter, with an abacus 0'60 m. square and 0'09 m. high. That it should have anything to do with the fortifications of Labici is quite impossible. It is situated a good deal too far down the hill, and the style of the masonry (Fig. 22) and the size of the blocks are not

those of the period to which such fortifications would have belonged.¹ Remains of the city walls did, however, exist in Rosa's time at the top of the Salita del Romitorio, just below the modern village, the construction of which was compared by him to that of the Tabularium at Rome and of the walls of Ardea and other early Latin cities. They were destroyed when the modern cemetery was constructed, but several of the blocks may be seen in the cemetery wall and in the bank of earth supporting the path which runs below it. Three which I took at random measured $71 \times 59 \times 33$ cm., 47×46 cm., 70×36 cm., but whether these are the exact original dimensions is of course doubtful.

The village of Monte Compatri contains no traces of antiquity except a cippus built into the front of a house in one of the streets to the S. of the Piazza Romana, which bears the inscription *Deverticulum privatum* (C.I.L. xiv. 4231). This cippus was found in the cellar of the house into which it is now built. The pavement of the road to which the inscription refers, which was that ascending from I Pallotta (p. 253) was also discovered, but was destroyed. See Tomassetti, *Mus. Ital.* ii. p. 503.

Stevenson copied, in August 1890, over the door of No. 53 Via del Mercato, the following inscription on a cinerary urn (?) of marble,

D · M ·
MACROTHYMIAE

The inscription was surrounded by a rectangular border and the lettering was extremely good. He also notices the existence in the village of a few unimportant ancient fragments.

In the vicinity of Monte Compatri was found C.I.L. xiv. 2781.

At Caricara, half a mile from Monte Compatri towards Colonna, was found the sepulchral inscription of Iulia Iusta (C.I.L. xiv. 2784).

Besides the two roads just mentioned, which leave the Via Labicana near Colonna to ascend to Monte Compatri, another ancient road (which is perhaps the original Via Labicana) ascends direct to Monte Compatri from the thirteenth mile of the road (p. 253). It is possible, too, that the road between Monte Compatri, Monte Porzio and Frascati, is ancient; Nibby conjectured that this was the case (*Schede*, i. 63). Whether the name of the village may legitimately be derived from "Compitum," a name which would belong rather to the station Ad Quintanas, is doubtful; but if so,

¹ Further N.W. are traces of another villa in opus reticulatum.

it may be noted how absolutely the name of Labici has perished. Cicero (*Pro Plancio*, 9, 23) mentions it, with Bovillae and Gabii, as in such decay as hardly to have a representative to send to the *Feriae Latinae*, while Strabo calls it Παλαιὸν κτίσμα κατεσπασμένον (v. 3, 9, p. 237; cf. 3, 2, p. 230, where he ranks it with Collatia, Antemnae, and Fidenae among old πολίχνη, νῦν δὲ κῶμαι κτήσεις ἰδιωτῶν. See *C.I.L.* xiv. p. 274-5).

In the list of the Bishops attending the council of 313 A.D. we find the name of the Bishop of Quintana or Quintiana (*i.e.* of the Labicani Quintanenses). After this time we find no mention of such a bishop, but from 649 until 1111 we hear of a Bishop of Labici (the see is doubtless the same) to whom Tusculum was also subject. In the twelfth century there is a fluctuation between Labici and Tusculum as a title of this bishop, and after 1111 the latter prevails. The interval between 313 and 649 may be bridged by supposing that Sub Augusta (p. 228) was, during this period, the titular church of this bishop. See Duchesne, *Arch. Soc. Rom. di Storia Patria*, 1892, 497.

To the S. of the village, on the path up to the convent of S. Silvestro, are the remains of a water reservoir. At the convent (which may, or may not, stand on ancient foundations) is preserved in the sacristy the inscription published by Raggi, *Colli Albani*, p. 131.¹ It is a Latin sepulchral inscription transliterated into Greek. A mile to the S. of Monte Compatri is the lofty hill called Monte Salomone (773 m.), identified by Francesco Antonio Vitale (*De Oppido Labici Dissertatio*, Rome 1778), with the old Labici. The grounds for this identification are quite insufficient. The hill is not, like Monte Compatri, approached by a large number of ancient roads, and shows no signs of having ever been the site of a city, for which it does not offer sufficient space. On the S.W. slope are fragments of brick, tile, and pottery, and cubes of opus reticulatum; and on the top of the hill are similar fragments with a little white marble and remains of a brick and concrete wall. Vitale (*op. cit.* 25) found *non exiguum murorum ambitum, atque lapidum congeriem*. The top of the hill is a plateau measuring about a hundred yards from E. to W. and forty from N. to S. At the E. end is a ditch, and at the W. traces of another, while excavation has taken place in the centre of the S. side. It is not very likely that these are

¹ It is, however, given in *C.I.L.* xiv. (No. 221*) among the *Inscriptiones falsae vel alienae*, as belonging in reality to Velitrae, and is published among the inscriptions of the latter city. (*C.I.L.* x. 6608.)

the remains of the ditches of a primitive camp. There has certainly been a Roman villa, or perhaps a temple, on the site, the construction of which would probably have obliterated any traces of early earthworks, and it is more probable that they are simply excavations for the purpose of removing building material. Not a trace of early pottery nor of walls in opus quadratum, such as we should have expected to find upon the site of an early city, could be discerned.

A mile to the E. of Monte Compatri, on the Colle di Fontana Molara, Stevenson observed two passages cut in the rock and lined with opus signinum, which served as water reservoirs. On the surface of the ground above them were fragments of a building of the Roman period. On this hill, near the boundary line of the commune of Monte Compatri, which passes on the E. side of it, was found the inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2786.

V.—FROM AD QUINTANAS TO AD STATUAS (S. CESAREO)

(*from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Milestone*).

We may now return to the Via Labicana, which we left at the fifteenth mile. The village of Colonna occupies a lofty situation upon a conical hill, but contains no traces of antiquity except some architectural fragments in white marble, the provenance of which is unknown. The inscriptions discovered in the territory of Colonna include *C.I.L.* xiv. 2769 (a round bronze plate bearing the inscription *Narcisi* [sic] *Ti. Claudi* | *Britannic* | *i supra* | *insulas*, which does not refer to the well-known Narcissus, the minister of Claudius) 2781 (at the casa Passavanti), 2785, 2787. The name Colonna¹ does not appear before the year 1093, and cannot be connected with *Ad Columnen* mentioned by Livy (iii. 23. 6), which was near the pass of Algidus (Nibby, *Analisi*, ii. 162). To the N.W. of it, S. of the Casale Ricci, and about a kilomètre from the railway station, the remains of a villa were discovered in 1890, when the railway was constructed (*Not. Scav.*, 1891, 36).

The cutting under the hill crowned by the house known as La Pasolina produced various fragments of marble, stucco, &c. (*Not. Scav.* 1892, 24,

¹ In Stevenson's MS. notes *vol. cit.* f. 18) the following is inserted—"Luigi Moscatelli sotto la Colonna dice d'aver trovato un sotterraneo con iscrizioni e monete circa 600, pitture, dei tegoli con bolli. Pare che la vigna sia dal lato verso Monte Compatri." The note is dated Nov. 1894, and signed M. Pasquale.

Bull. Com. 1892, 374; see also *Bull. Com.* 1892, 358, for a Greek inscription found hereabouts) also the following brickstamp (unpublished)

 A · QL · ANTONINI · M · S.¹

The Via Labicana, directly after leaving *Ad Quintanas*, is crossed by the modern road, which ascends on the left to the village of Colonna and descends on the right to the Via Casilina at the Osteria della Colonna, (p. 238). The continual cultivation has destroyed all traces of the road for quite a mile, though Chaupy (*Maison de Campagne d'Horace*, ii. 174) mentions considerable traces of the road in the fields beyond the tomb, and Rosa traces its course below (*i.e.*, N. of) the Colle di S. Andrea.² Many pavingstones, probably from this road, are to be found in the vineyard walls, N.W. of the Casale Martini, about the site of the sixteenth milestone. Not far from here, in the Vigna dei Mattei (Collicola or Valle Zitta), excavations in 1890 brought several statues, &c., to light (*Not. Scav.* 1890, 89), notably a bust, believed by Helbig to represent Fulvia, the second wife of Marcus Antonius (illustrated in *Monumenti dei Lincei*, vol. i. pt. 3, p. 573), and an old countryman told me that a mosaic pavement had been found there. The same man stated that in his youth a paved road had been found going from the Casale Martini straight in the direction of Colonna, which would certainly have been the Via Labicana. E. of the Casale Martini are heaps of broken pavingstones recently excavated, which we were told belonged to a road, the pavement of which had been found entire, coming N.E. from the S. side of the Colle di S. Andrea. A path coming from this direction, just S. of the Casale, is full of pavingstones (not *in situ*). If our information as to the direction of the road discovered was trustworthy, and the pavingstones did not belong to the Labicana, then a road from Labici must have fallen into the Via Labicana at this point, possibly going on to the Osteria della Colonna.

About two hundred yards E. of the Casale Martini, just after we have crossed into the territory of Zagarolo, the pavement of the Via Labicana reappears, and may be traced through a ploughed field, running almost due E. for more than a mile, until the modern road from Monte Compatri

¹ See Stevenson, *MS. cit.* f. 19, where another brickstamp found in a field wall below La Colonna on this side is also given, A NN I AE CO.

² Here, in July 1890, Stevenson saw a brickstamp (of which a rubbing is given in *MS. cit.* f. 19).



CREC · PROC

to S. Cesareo is reached. N. of the site of the seventeenth milestone are the remains of a villa; and not far from it, in the Campo Gillaro, the sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.* xiv. 2827 was found. It is now at S. Cesareo.

For eight hundred yards more, up to the site of the eighteenth milestone, the traces of the road once more disappear, but just before this point is reached, its direction is given by a tomb which, facing N.N.E., probably stood on the S. side of the road. To the W. of this tomb is the platform of a large villa supported by a wall with niches, constructed of alternate bands of several brick courses and of thin oblong chips of selce. The destruction of this villa has furnished materials for the field-walls on the modern highroad. To the S. of the tomb is a large reservoir, much below the ground level, having three parallel chambers, each 4.12 m. wide and (originally) twenty-five or thirty m. in length. To the S.W. of this reservoir, on the S. side of the field road,¹ are the remains of another villa in opus reticulatum, once richly decorated with marble. We were told that bodies (doubtless buried there in later times) had been discovered in the ruins. A mile to the north, W. of the Macchia Carsolese, are the remains of a villa, and some way further N.W., on a hill 253 m. above sea-level, the ruins of another, with a water reservoir to the N. of it. Beyond the site of the eighteenth milestone the line of the Via Labicana is traceable in the fields going E.S.E.; and in the lane going S. from the modern road, 35 paces from it, and just to the W. of the Casale di S. Cesareo, its pavement is visible, running 33° S. of E. Its width is not determinable, but must have been at least 12 feet. Many of the pavingstones show deep ruts. The path going southwards from here, which would join the Via Latina at the pass of Algidus, very likely represents the line of an ancient road (as Nibby thinks—see the article “Vie” in Nardini, *Roma Antica* (ed.

¹ The antiquity of this road, which goes direct from S. Cesareo into the modern road to Monte Compatri (the Via Maremmana inferiore), is extremely doubtful, though Westphal (*Römische Kampagne*, p. 80) maintains it, arguing from its straight direction and the large number of broken pavingstones which were in his time to be found in it. He makes it a continuation of the road from Frascati to Monte Compatri, which probably is ancient, though the modern road winds far more than the old road can have done (see map). In the map of Amati a road is shown as ancient which seems to run from this point northwards, where it becomes lost. Before this it is crossed by a road from the N. side of Colonna to Zagarolo. There is probably some confusion between the roads that run from the Osteria della Colonna to Pallavicina and Cavamonte respectively, that which we have supposed to run from the 17th mile of the Via Labicana to the 14th of the Via Praenestina, and the path which runs, leaving the diverticulum last mentioned on the right, past Casale la Vettrice to the hill on the W. of Zagarolo.

iv., p. 109). After half a mile a branch (perhaps also ancient) goes off from it to Rocca Priora (probably Corbio).

The Via Labicana now diverges again from the line which the modern road takes, and runs just on the S. of the avenue ascending to the Villa Rospigliosi, and its pavement reappears about a hundred yards to the S.W. of it, running 35° E. of S.

The site of the eighteenth milestone falls approximately 150 yards W. of the Casale of S. Cesareo, and nearly half a mile to the W. of the Villa Rospigliosi. The precise point at which the station *Ad Statuas*, placed by the Itineraries 3 miles beyond *Ad Quintanas*, (and therefore 18 miles from Rome), is to be fixed, is doubtful ; but it is probable that it stood at or near the Casale of S. Cesareo, at the point where the roads to Monte Compatri and Algidus diverged to the right, and the road to Praeneste to the left, following the same line as the present road from Rome to Palestrina, which, up to S. Cesareo, is the modern Via Casilina. In Roman times the Via Labicana by means of this *deverticulum* afforded a route to Praeneste, about a mile longer than the Via Praenestina itself, and rather more hilly. (Half a mile from S. Cesareo the modern Via Casilina (which probably follows here, as before, the line of an ancient road) leaves it and turns S.E. keeping parallel to the ancient Via Labicana.) After about two miles a branch road diverges from it to the N. passing through the valley below Zagarolo to the W., and thence following the modern road to the Osteriola di Cavamonte, where it crosses the Via Praenestina, and goes on by way of Passerano and Corcolle to join the Via Tiburtina at Ponte Lucano. The village of Zagarolo occupies a position of remarkable strength, being built upon a narrow ridge nearly a mile in length, protected on either side by deep ravines, with very steep approaches on the N. and S. It is very probable that the site was occupied by some city in ancient times, but there are no remains of ancient walls or buildings, nor any positive indications of ancient habitation ; nor have we any clue to an identification with any of the Latin cities named by classical authors. The village contains several granite columns, part of a fine fountain basin of red porphyry, and three or four inscriptions (Nibby, *Analisi*, iii. p. 740, *C.I.L.* xiv. 2830 sqq., where several inscriptions found in the neighbourhood are also given).

About a mile beyond the turning of the road to Zagarolo the ancient pavement of the road to Palestrina begins to appear in good preservation,

just on the N. of the modern road, and continues to run by it for more than a mile until it reaches the chapel of S. Agapito, where it joins another diverticulum—the road which leaves the northern branch of the Via Latina at the Casale Mezza Selva, and, after it has crossed the modern Via Casilina (which is here slightly to the N. of the Labicana), is called the Olmata di Palestrina (p. 272).

Returning to S. Cesareo, at the Casale itself we find few remains of



FIG. 23.—SARCOPHAGUS AND ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENTS, VILLA ROSPIGLIOSI.

antiquity, except several blocks of white marble. Rosa tells us however (*Bull. Inst.* 1856, 154) that in 1855 a large building was found close to the road, which probably belonged to the station, and that several statues are said to have been discovered, which may (he thinks) have been those which gave their name to it. The Villa Rospigliosi contains several statues and architectural fragments (Fig. 23),¹ including several columns of grey marble; also the inscriptions *C.I.L.* xiv. 2827, 2829. 2828, which was once here, is

¹ The same photograph (which I took in January, 1900) will be found reproduced in Lanciani's *New Tales of Old Rome*, p. 33.

now lost, and the best specimens of statuary, including a set of portrait busts, have been sold to a dealer.

In the valley below the villa, to the E., is a large nymphaeum of opus mixtum, near which is the base of a column 2 feet in diameter, similar to those at the Villa Rospigliosi, which may therefore have been discovered here (but see below). Nibby (*Analisi*, iii. 116) takes this building to be the ruined church of S. Cesareo, which gave its name to the place. It is more probable, however, that the building is a nymphaeum, and that the name S. Cesareo really comes from the fact that this is the site of the villa of Julius Caesar, who, as we know from Suetonius (c. 83), possessed a villa in the territory of Labici, at which he made his will. To the N.W. is a water reservoir against the hill-side, which originally had at least three separate chambers. Ficoroni (*Labico*, 61) states that in his time there were ancient ruins on the site of the Villa Rospigliosi, and that granite columns and other antiquities were found there when the villa was constructed.

VI.—FROM AD STATUAS (S. CESAREO) TO AD BIVIVM (S. ILARIO)

(*from the Eighteenth to the Thirtieth Milestone*).

From the Villa Rospigliosi (to the E. of S. Cesareo) the Via Labicana continues to run in a south-easterly direction as far as the Fontanile della Pidocchiosa, its pavement being *in situ* at intervals. After this it is lost for a while, but reappears again as soon as it reaches the ridge of the Colle Pietrazzino,¹ where its line is marked for some way by a field-wall which is built of the pavingstones taken from it, though in one place the pavement has been left *in situ*, just on the S.W. side of the field-wall. The road ascends slowly, passing the remains of a villa on the S.W. After the field-wall ends it is completely buried under the soil, passing through a thick plantation of broom; but fragments of selce and brick at intervals, and the conformation of the ground, show that it ran straight on towards the Torraccio di Mezza Selva, descending into the Valle degli Appesi and then ascending again. A few large blocks of selce are seen where it reaches

¹ It is possible that a path crossing the Colle della Casa Romana in a S.W. direction, and coming from the so-called Via Praenestina Nuova, may follow the line of an ancient road, which would have fallen into the Via Labicana not far from this point, but the evidence is inadequate.

the bottom of the Valle degli Appesi¹: beyond this again, however, is a thick cane brake.

Just to the W. of the Torraccio di Mezza Selva the Via Labicana is crossed, almost at right angles, by a path which probably follows the line of an ancient road² from Algidus to Praeneste and the Via Praenestina. None of its pavement is left *in situ*, but a few loose pavingstones are seen at one or two points S.W. of the Torraccio, though none N.E. A mile S.W. of the Torraccio a road diverges from it at right angles, which may possibly come from S. Cesareo (see Gell's map), descending steeply to the Valle della Mola and ascending even more steeply past the Fontanile di Galloro through a cutting to a branch of the Via Latina of which we shall have to speak further on. The existence of many loose pavingstones along the road and at the fountain makes its antiquity certain. It is, in fact, traceable beyond the main Via Latina as far as the Via Ariana, and possibly even further. It is probable that the road descending the valley in a N.E. direction to join the Via Labicana is ancient (see p. 271). At point 391, E. of the Fontanile di Galloro, is a water reservoir of selce concrete with four chambers.

Beyond this point the road which we are following from the Torraccio di Mezza Selva towards Algidus passes a large hut village. The huts are constructed of broom, with foundations of earth and stones; there is even a small chapel, built in the same style. A little way beyond it are many fragments of selce (besides one whole pavingstone), brick, and some mosaic cubes, and a concrete floor in the path. Further on the course of the road is quite uncertain, and in the forest it is absolutely lost.

The Torraccio di Mezza Selva (otherwise known as Torre dei Marmi³) is a small mediaeval castle, almost circular, with the E. and W. ends flattened; it has four towers, besides a gate tower on the W. side. It is constructed of fragments of pavingstones, marble (one of which, over the entrance, is a fragment of decorative sculpture in relief of late date), and

¹ It is, again, possible that an ancient road ran along the Valle degli Appesi, coming perhaps from the Via Praenestina Nuova, and following the communal boundary line between Zagarolo and Palestrina, and going on thence up to Algidus. But there is no definite evidence of its existence, and the configuration of the ground is such as to lend itself to the construction of imaginary lines of road.

² So Fabretti, *Inscriptiones*, p. 416 and map, Chaupy, *Maison de Campagne d'Horace*, iii. 465.

³ Fabretti (*Inscriptiones*, p. 415) speaks of it as Lo Cimmero, and under this name it appears in his and Amati's maps. Ficoroni (*Labico*, 37) supposes it to have been the site of the station of Ad Quintanas: he gives (*ib.* 40) an engraving of a ring found there, and (*ib.* 86) of a *glans plumbea* with the inscription FIR. (*C.I.L.* ix. 6086, 40).

tufa. The stone corbels which supported the upper gallery round the wall are well preserved on the S. side, and there is a *necessarium* of the usual type on the N. side of the gate-tower. The Via Labicana passed close to this castle, the erection of which most likely contributed to the abandonment of the road.

Between S. Cesareo and this castle were discovered the inscriptions *C.I.L.* xiv. 2825, 2826, erected by Romulus, son of Maxentius (who was not yet emperor) in honour of his father and mother.

They run as follows: *Domino patri M(arco) Valerio Maxentio viro claris(simo) Val(erius) Romulus c(larissimus) p(uer) pro amore caritatis eius patri benignissimo*: and: *Dominae matri Valeriae Maximillae nob(ilissimae) fem(inae) Val(erius) Romulus c(larissimus) p(uer) pro amore adfectionis eius matri carissimae*.

Victor (*epit.* 40) tells us that Maxentius at the time that he was made emperor lived *in villa sex millibus ab urbe discreta itinere Lavicano*. It is possible that he is alluding to the locality where these inscriptions were found, the number of miles being corrupt.¹ Near here was also found the waterpipe *C.I.L.* xiv. 2838 = xv. 7889 (*Nicephor. Fl. Sulpiciani ser. fec.*) now in the possession of Massimiliano Bertini of Zagarolo: to the same owner belonged a plain mirror and a lamp with the figure of Minerva giving her vote for Paris, found in a tomb near by, and seen by Stevenson in 1882 (*MS. cit.* f. 2'). Cecconi (*Storia di Palestrina*, p. 19, n. 36) says that a sarcophagus inscribed with the name Nysillos was found here.

Hence the road descended, still in a S.E. direction, ascended slightly through a defile (natural, not artificial), and then descended again to the Fosso della Mola. There are no traces of its pavement except a few loose pavingstones, a little to the W. of the Fosso.

On the W. bank of the stream runs a path, which probably follows the line of an ancient road.² Going S.W. it soon reaches the Fontanile di Galloro and joins the road described above; going N.E. it ascends the hill and after rather less than a mile, reaches the modern Via Casilina and crossing it at right angles, falls into the line of the Olmata di Palestrina.

This road is certainly ancient from the chapel called S. Agapito

¹ Whether these inscriptions were found in the ruins E. of the Villa Rospigliosi is quite doubtful: but if so, it would tend to show that the villa of Julius Caesar had remained a part of the imperial domain ever since his day.

² So Westphal, *Römische Kampagne*, p. 77, and Kiepert, *C.I.L.* xiv., map.

(where it unites with the road from S. Cesareo described on p. 268) onwards to Praeneste, as frequent remains of pavement *in situ* show, and the S.W. portion is probably ancient also. There are no traces of pavement to be seen, but about half a mile from S. Agapito remains of walls and floors may be seen in the cutting of the road on each side, but do not appear to have been broken into by it, and are orientated in correspondence with its line, so that they are probably tombs belonging to it. To the E. of S. Agapito are two masses of concrete of doubtful antiquity, but not orientated on the line of either of the two roads. A path marked Via Consolare on the military map, which runs southwards from a point near S. Agapito, has not a single trace of antiquity. On the other hand, a path crossing it at right angles, leaving the Olmata di Palestrina near the Colle dell' Aquila, and running eastwards as far as the road from Palestrina to Valmontone (which follows the line of an ancient road: see below, p. 277) is most probably of ancient origin.¹ It may perhaps have run on to Cave and thence, still in a straight line, along the course now followed by the road to Piglio, which has almost certainly succeeded to an ancient road. At the point where the road of which we have been speaking crosses the Via Labicana at right angles, there are remains of tombs in opus quadratum on either side of the latter. The Via Labicana has some remains of mediaeval paving at the crossing of the stream, but just beyond it there is a small piece of Roman pavement *in situ*, besides several loose paving-stones along the track of the road, which soon diverges slightly from the modern lane, until, a little way beyond Fontana Chiusa (which lies close to the twenty-second Roman milestone) it is 70 yards to the S.W. Here the bank of the road is clearly seen in the field, with some pavingstones of the N.E. edge clearly *in situ*. Ficoroni (*Labico*, 32) and Capmartin de Chaupy (*Maison de Campagne d'Horace*, iii. 465) both note that the pavement of the road was well preserved in their day; and the latter says² (and what he says is still true, as I can testify from personal

¹ It is to be noted, however, that the remains of pavement along the paths in the district of Praeneste, whether *in situ* or in field-walls, are extremely scanty; and very often the only piece of positive evidence for the antiquity of a road is the statement of some one of the writers on the topography of Praeneste, whose works date back a century or more. Cecconi's work is especially valuable in this respect, and seems to be trustworthy, though not complete in some cases, while in others he seems to admit the existence of too many ancient roads (*supra*, p. 214).

² He very probably derived his knowledge of its existence from the maps of Fabretti (1680) and Ameti (1693), who mark it perfectly correctly, which Cingolani (1704) does not. Holstenius (*ad Cluv.* pp. 193 *sqq.*) who died in 1661, knew the truth also.

observation, having traversed the whole distance on foot): "dans tout cet espace qui est d'environ 8 milles . . . on peut la suivre et la reconnoître à son pavé même qu'on trouve entier par tout, hors en deux ou trois endroits, où la culture n'en laisse voir que les pierres éparses, & en quelques autres où elle a été dépavée à dessein récemment comme dans la Vigne Ricci." This being the case, it is surprising that no one, not even Rosa (*Bull. Inst.*, 1856, 154) should have described its course correctly since his day. Kiepert's, and all the other recent maps that I know, are entirely incorrect, as they mark the ancient road as identical with the modern, which runs close to Labico¹ and Valmontone,² immediately on the N. of the railway to Naples. The latter follows³ the line of an ancient road, but certainly not that of the Via Labicana.

About half a mile from Fontana Chiusa the road ascends through a narrow defile at the top of which its pavement may be seen *in situ*, on the N.E. side of the modern cart track, for a distance of about fifty yards, the S.W. *margo* being well preserved. After this point it is hidden beneath the soil, but just after passing the site of the twenty-third milestone it turns to run due E. Here there is an important junction of roads. One goes on S.E., following the line to which the Via Labicana has been keeping up till now. Its pavement may be seen on the E. slope of the Colle Treare, but after that it descends and runs along a valley full of

¹ As I have already stated, the name Labico has only belonged to this village since 1880, up till which time it was called Lugnano (i.e. *fundus Longianus*?). Nibby identified the place with the ancient Bola, but without sufficient grounds. The site is certainly a fine one for an ancient city, being isolated except for a narrow neck on the W. The rock has been perpendicularly scarped, and on the S. side is honeycombed with small caves, which may have been originally tombs or habitations (Ficoroni, *Labico*, 66), or, perhaps, never served for anything else than pigsties—their present use. Traces of antiquity are however wanting, so far as I know, and the scarping may date from the Middle Ages, for the place is known to have belonged to the Counts of Tusculum in the eleventh century.

² Valmontone has similarly been identified by Nibby (*Analisi*, iii. 369) with Tolerium, one of the ancient Latin cities, but without adequate reason. Its site is even stronger than that of Labico, the rock on which it stands being isolated except on the N.W. No traces of earlier fortifications than those of the Middle Ages are to be seen, unless the blocks of tufa used in the houses belonged to the ancient walls, as Nibby thinks. He notes indeed that some of them seem to be *in situ*, and he further remarks the existence of some remains of opus reticulatum and of a sarcophagus of the third century used as a fountain basin. The rock on which the place stands is full of small caves, now used as pigsties, as at Lugnano.

³ Westphal (*Römische Campagne*, 77, 81) states that he saw the "Unterlagen" or foundation blocks of the ancient road in the modern one between S. Cesareo and Lugnano, and pavingstones (not *in situ*) E. of Valmontone. There are several in the modern bridge just to the E. of the village, and a large number are to be seen in use in the modern pavement in front of the Osteria a little further on.

alluvial soil, and no traces of it are to be seen. Just before the Fontanile della Cacciata, however, there is a cutting through which it must have passed, and the Fontanile has around it a pavement which contains some Roman pavingstones. Beyond this point, however, none of the paths which diverge from the fountain show any sure traces of antiquity, with the exception of one which, going southwards, falls into the line of the Via Ariana,¹ and, going northwards, crosses the Via Labicana and descends by a steep defile just to the E. of Labico station to the valley of the Sacco (whence it is possible that it goes on towards La Marcigliana and so to Palestrina),² and even this retains no traces of pavement, though the deep cuttings made for it sufficiently show its antiquity. To this road belonged the tomb whence came the roughly-sculptured sarcophagus of tufa, found on the Colle Treare,³ and now in the Palazzo Borghese at Ardena (described in *Not. Scav.*, 1890, 325). It is probable that the path which runs slightly to the E. of this and almost parallel to it is also ancient, as it falls into the line of the modern road which runs from Ardena to Giulianello and Cori, which from its straightness of line, and from the fact that from it again soon diverges a straight road—first called Via del Buon Viaggio and then Via Doganale, which joins the Via Appia at Cisterna, may be inferred to be of Roman origin.

Another road which joins the Via Labicana just after the twenty-third milestone is that (certainly ancient) which leaves the Via Latina at the pass of Algidus and runs due E. past the Casale Mezza Selva (close to which it is crossed by the road described p. 270) to this point.

A third road is perhaps represented by the path which runs southwards to the Via Latina which it reaches at the Fontanile delle Macere; see Chaupy, iii. 463, who however—the passage is not very clear—seems to have traced a road from the Casale Mezza Selva to this point, but, as he says it ran for a distance of three miles, and the distance from Fontanile delle Macere to Casale Mezza Selva is much less, it is difficult to know what he means: he may even refer to the Via Ariana and its prolongation

¹ The antiquity of this road was proved in 1899, by the discovery of pavement *in situ* about two miles from Velletri (*Not. Scav.* 1899, 338). It may be noted that Kiepert (*C.I.L.* xiv. map) prolongs this road to Valmontone, not to Labico—I do not know on whose authority.

² See Fernique, *op. cit.* 123, Cecconi, *op. cit.* p. 43, n. 10, as to the antiquity of this last section.

³ The reference here (as in p. 275, n. 1) is to the hill to the E. of the Fontanile delle Macere, and not, as elsewhere, to the hill N. of Colle dei Quadri.

northwards¹ (p. 274). Traces of antiquity are, however, deficient, except for a few pavingstones in the valley just to the N. of the Fontanile, which may have come from the Via Latina, and pavingstones at the fountain itself, which almost certainly did so.

On the S. of the Via Labicana, a little way N.N.E. of point 364, are some remains of opus quadratum in peperino *in situ*, and a fragment of a large cornice of the same material, also some brick and remains of concrete. These are on the hill now called the Colle Treare, but the Colle dei Quadri is really part of the same hill. It was here that many topographers placed the station Ad Pictas² (Holstenius, *Ad Cluverium*, pp. 193, 195), while Ficoroni placed Labici here (*Labico*, passim), supposing the later village (Ad Quintanas) to have been at Torre di Mezza Selva. He states that it was from this place that the stones were brought to build the Palazzo Pamfili Doria at Valmontone, and that it was from the squared blocks (quadri) that the hill took its name. (Westphal, *Römische Kampagne*, 77. Nibby, *Analisi*, iii. 375.)³

This point is, however, only twenty-three miles from Rome, whereas the station Ad Pictas, according to the Itineraries, is twenty-five by the Via Labicana, and twenty-six (by which road we are not told—perhaps the Labicana) according to Strabo; and further it was apparently, to judge from his expression, *τελευταὴ δὲ* (the Via Labicana) *πρὸς τὰς Πικτὰς καὶ τὴν Λατίνην*, on the Via Latina. I have therefore (p. 218) followed the conjecture of Chaupy (iii. 463 : cf. also Nibby in the article "Vie" in Nardini's *Roma Antica*, iv. 109), who puts it at the Fontanile delle Macere. The distance from Rome is between twenty-three and twenty-four miles by the Via Latina, and about twenty-five by the Via Labicana.

From the Colle Treare the Via Labicana runs due E. for nearly a mile.

¹ If this is so, we may agree with Rosa in placing Ad Pictas on the hill to the E. of the Fontanile delle Macere—the Colle Treare. The distance from Rome would then be 24 miles by the Via Latina, and just over 26 by the Labicana. This agrees better with Strabo, but not with the Itineraries.

² The Colle della Lite, on which Bertarelli (*Labico*, 16) placed the site of Labici, is to be identified with this same hill.

³ Two reliefs in marble, of late date, and several copies of the brick-stamp *C.I.L.* xv. 2340 were found here in 1878 (*Not. Scav.* 1878, 68; according to which *C.I.L.* xiv. 2987, 3324, 3382, 3399 were also found here. These inscriptions are now preserved in the Palazzo Doria at Valmontone, and are said to have been found in 1789 in a place called La Cavalla; but this is certainly not true of *C.I.L.* xiv. 3416, 3418, 3423, which are placed with them (see p. 279, n. 1). In *Not. Scav.* l. c. the place is called Il Monumento).

It is seen crossing the path to Labico village (which is also the communal boundary),¹ and the *margo* is actually preserved. Beyond, it can be traced by remains of pavement and of the tufa blocks of the *crepidines*. It then turns E.S.E.: the boundary line, which at first coincides with it, soon follows a modern path which keeps some 70 yards to the S. To the N. of the road was discovered the water reservoir known as the Grotta Mamosa, a large reservoir with five arches in the wall dividing the two chambers. A waterpipe was found here bearing the inscription *Iuliae Mamiae Matris Aug. N.* (generally attributed to Iulia Mammaea, the mother of Alexander Severus). See Ficoroni, *Labico*, p. 33, *C.I.L.*, xiv. 3037=xv. 7880. The site is given as near I Casali in the Vigna dei Saraceni; the name Colle della Forma may refer to the conduit which supplied it, of which Ficoroni says that it was to be seen at the edge of the wood² towards Valmontone, running towards a spring called Acqua Ruana. The reservoir still exists in good preservation.³ It is curious that, whereas Ficoroni states that the pipe was placed in the Museo Kircheriano, it is not now to be found there, while two pipes bearing the same inscription exist at Bologna and one in Venice, the provenance of which is unknown. The ridge of the road is clear, and in some places the pavingstones are exposed, while in others they are *in situ*, but hidden. The name Colle della Strada, which belongs to this hill, refers of course to the ancient road. Ficoroni (p. 32) speaks of a fine piece of pavement existing in one of the Vigne dei Casali—the Vigna dei Buttinelli.

After a short distance the boundary line and the path cross to the N. of the Labicana again, and the former soon turns to follow a path which goes northwards to Labico station and which, if followed southward, falls into the line of the Via Ariana (p. 274). On the W. of this road, on the N. side of the Via Labicana, is a wall of opus quadratum about 10 yards in length crossing the modern path, and just to the N. of it a floor of hard cement, probably belonging to a water reservoir.

¹ Cecconi (*op. cit.* p. 88, n. 29) would make an ancient road run along this path to I Casali, and thence northward to La Marcigliana. The only objection lies in the steepness of the descent to the E. of I Casali.

² The wood bore the name La Cacciata, *i.e.* the covert or preserve.

³ The measurements are as follows: total length, 17.66 m.; width of chambers, 3.88 and 3.96 respectively; width of dividing wall, .95; span of arches, 2.40 to 2.62. To the S. of the reservoir, between it and the road, are traces of the villa which it supplied.

The main road now runs on E.S.E. in a practically straight line for more than two miles. Upon the Colle Verdone loose pavingstones may be seen, and at one point the southern *margo* of the road, built of tufa blocks. After a mile we reach a brick tomb in two stories, with a crypt below; it is built of late, bad brickwork. The door, which is on the N.N.E. side, and has jambs and lintel of stone, is 1.65 m. in height by 1.05 in width. The lower chamber, faced with opus mixtum, measures 4.15 m. in width by 4.40 in depth, and the walls are 0.58 in thickness. A little further E. are the remains of a small church (S. Giovanni), the walls of which are full of blocks of opus quadratum and pavingstones. The building has loophole windows, above the last of which, on the N.N.E. side, there is a fragment of a marble *transenna* of the eighth or ninth century; a fact of great importance, proving as it does that the road was in use up to this date, for the church is orientated (as is the brick tomb) in correspondence with the direction (E.S.E.) in which it is running. On the N.N.E. side of the church are the traces of the attachment of some other building, possibly a small baptistery.

A little further E. the pavement of the road may be seen in perfect preservation for 150 yards. It measures precisely 4 m. in width, and the *crepidines* of tufa are 0.50 m. wide. It now reaches the Casale Galeotti, where it turns a trifle more southwards, but soon comes back to its old direction. In the Vigna Galeotti, Chaupy copied a sepulchral inscription (*C.I.L.* xiv. 3009) erected in memory of a freedman, P. Valerius Mahes, who was *magister quinquennalis collegi fabrorum tignuariorum* (carpenters), by his *patronus*. At the site of the twenty-sixth milestone it is suddenly interrupted by a gully of recent formation, some twenty feet in depth, through which a path runs; and a little further on are the remains in concrete of a building which lay close by it, with some architectural fragments of tufa. Paving stones (not *in situ*) are plentiful, and the line of the road is perfectly clear. It now descends to the modern road from Palestrina to Valmontone and thence to Ardena, which (at any rate between Valmontone and Palestrina) follows an ancient line, as is clear from the existence of a cutting immediately to the E. of the modern road just S. of the Madonna delli Cori, close to Palestrina. Westphal (*Röm. Kampagne*, 81) states that he saw ancient paving in the road. The cutting S. of Valmontone also seems to be ancient, but further S. than this there are no traces of antiquity. Possibly from

that cutting it ran S.E. to join the Via Labicana just below the Colle delle Mura.

On the E. of the Valmontone-Artena road, the Via Labicana ascends the slope of the Colle Pastina. Here there is a piece of pavement well preserved in a modern cart track, and the S.W. *margo*, which is still in existence, gives the direction S.E. by E. Further on there are many loose pavingstones visible, until the road descends into the low ground between the Colle Pastina and the Colle delle Mura, where all traces of it are lost. Here was the site of the twenty-seventh milestone.¹ The road soon re-ascends, being paved with broken fragments of pavingstones, and at the top of the rise turns almost due E. for a little way. Here are the remains of a small mediaeval castle which guarded the road, and further N., of another mediaeval building.²

The road soon turns S.E. again; the pavement is preserved, but the stones have fallen out of place. Just before reaching the site of the twenty-eighth milestone it turns to run only a few degrees S. of E., and follows the crest of the Colle Selicione, the name of which, derived as it is from selce, is significant, and led me to search for the road here. To the S. of the road are the remains of a villa and some pavingstones, which may have belonged to the *deverticulum* which led to it.

¹ Holstenius (*Aa. Cluv.* p. 196, quoted in *C.I.L.* x. 6883) says: "ad ecclesiam d. Ioannis Baptistae columna milliaria extat litteris ferme exesis, quam ego xxvii ab urbe lapidem fuisse existimo." If, as is probable, he is referring to the church mentioned on p. 277, the milestone he saw would have been either the 25th or 26th—not in its original position. At the Casale del Re near Artena (belonging to Dr. Cesare Caputi), I copied the following inscription from a milestone—

I M P
DOM
MAXEN
MIERRET

XXII!

*Imp(eratori) [Caesari] Dom(ino) [Nostro M. Aurelio Va.erio] Maxen(tio) b(lio) f(lici) perpetuo
[invicto Aug(usto).]*

The fourth line I was unable to decipher satisfactorily. The number I made to be 23, but I was told it had been read as 24. The milestone was a marble column 0.34 m. in diameter. I was told that it had been found in the Quarto della Pescara, on the boundary between the communes of Giulianello and Artena, where it had been long in use as a boundary stone. If (as is most probable) it belonged to the Via Latina, it must have been brought from a distance of 3 miles at least to the N. of the point where it was found.

² Possibly the remains of the Church of Nostra Donna in Selci, which, however, Cingolani and Ametì place on the N. side of the valley in which the Naples railway now runs, only a little to the E. of Valmontone. In this they are probably wrong. See Holstenius, *l.c.*

Just after reaching the site of the twenty-ninth milestone the road descends steeply by a gully, running about 40° S. of E. The pavement is preserved to a certain extent, and the large *margo* blocks of tufa (0.90 m. in width, one of them being 2.03 m. in length) are in one place preserved on both sides, giving the width of the road at 5.55 m. (about 18 feet). This is above the normal width (about 14 feet), but on steep ascents or descents it was usually increased.

A few pavingstones along the crest of the Colle S. Ilario lead one to believe that a *deverticulum* ran E. along the ridge, but the main road certainly descended by the gully, and keeps just below the low cliffs along the N. edge of the valley, a few feet above its bottom. Clearly then, as now, the valley was subject to frequent floods.

Less than half a mile further on we reach the Catacombs of S. Ilario, which lie in a small projecting hill of tufa, 150 yards N.E. of the "casello" or railwayman's cottage of the line from Velletri to Segni. The Catacombs are not very extensive, and have been entirely rifled. Some remnants of brick on the surface of the low hill in which they are cut may point to the existence of a church above ground. Some of the inscriptions from these Catacombs are now preserved in the Palazzo Doria at Valmontone (Marucchi, *Guide des Catacombes*, 409).¹ At this point a path comes down the hill from the S.W., crossing the railway at the "casello." It is certainly ancient. Many loose pavingstones lie by it, and it has been much worn down by traffic since the destruction of the pavement, as the wheelmarks in the tufa show: so that it continued in use during the early Middle Ages. On the Colle Maiorano, where many of its pavingstones are seen, it passes to the E. of the remains of a very large villa, and then descends gradually to the Via Latina which is reached after a little less than two miles from S. Ilario. There are no traces of paving except a few loose stones at the top of the descent, but the engineering is so good, the road being carried along the side of the hill with a uniform gradient, that there can be no doubt of its antiquity.

Another path comes from the W.S.W. to S. Ilario along the Valle Materna, which may be of ancient origin, and has in fact been called the Via Latina by De la Blanchère (*Mélanges de l'École Française*, i. (1881) p. 170 and map), who makes this branch of the road diverge from the portion which goes on to Compitum Anagninum about two and a half

¹ *C.I.L.* xiv. 3416, 3418, 3423.

miles further W. than we have done, about a mile W. of the foot of the village of Artena. There are however no certain traces of the antiquity of this road. The Valle Materna being full of alluvial soil, they would be hard to find without excavation, whereas there is no doubt of the antiquity of the road over the Colle di Maiorano.¹

As we have said, it seems clear that S. Ilario, which is just under thirty miles from Rome by the Via Labicana, and just over thirty by the Via Latina, is to be identified with Ad Bivium. (So Chaupy, *op. cit.* iii. 465; cf. Fabretti, *De Aquis*, map facing p. 90, and Ameti, map.)

Beyond this point the Via Labicana continues to skirt the edge of the hills on the N. side of the valley followed by the railway, and some of its pavement may be traced *in situ*, but not for a long distance, having probably been washed away by floods. There is a deep cutting going northwards through the neck between the Colle S. Ilario and the Colle Cisterna, which seems certainly to have been made for an ancient road. Deep-worn wheelmarks of a later date may still be seen. About a mile further on we reach the end of the valley, which joins that of the Sacco, and the junction of the two railways (the old and the new) from Rome. Here all traces of the road have disappeared. It probably crossed the Sacco and joined the modern highroad close to the mediaeval castle of Piombinara, near Segni station. The name according to Nibby (*Analisi*, iii. 52) is a corruption of Fluminaria given to it in allusion to its position above the Sacco. He is probably right in saying that Sacriportus, the site of the defeat of the younger Marius by Sulla, which was followed by the siege of Praeneste was situated here or hereabouts, but whether it was the name of a village or merely of a district is quite uncertain. The castle, which stands on a low hill, dates from the thirteenth century, according to Nibby. It is one of the largest in the Roman Campagna, and its tower is so lofty as to command a most extensive view. It was obviously intended to guard the junction of the Via Labicana and the road from Valmontone, and the passage of the former over the Sacco.

From this point and onwards it is probable that the ancient Via

¹ De la Blanchère also cites Serangeli (whose MS., *Notizie istoriche della terra di Monte-Fortino*, was written in 1717) as speaking of a road which ascended from La Cacciata (p. 274) to the N. gate of La Civita—the name by which are known the remains of a large circuit of “Cyclopean” walls on the mountain above Monte Fortino (or Artena, as it is now called); but its course is not very clearly described.

Labicana is identical with the modern road, but I have not attempted to trace it further. Chaupy (*op. cit.* iii. 462) says that remains of its tombs and bridges may be seen along the road as far as the Osteria della Fontana (Compitum Anagninum), where the ancient pavement is preserved for some distance, and where an ancient tomb, known as the Osteria della Volpe, still exists (Abbate, *Guida della provincia di Roma*, ii. 414).

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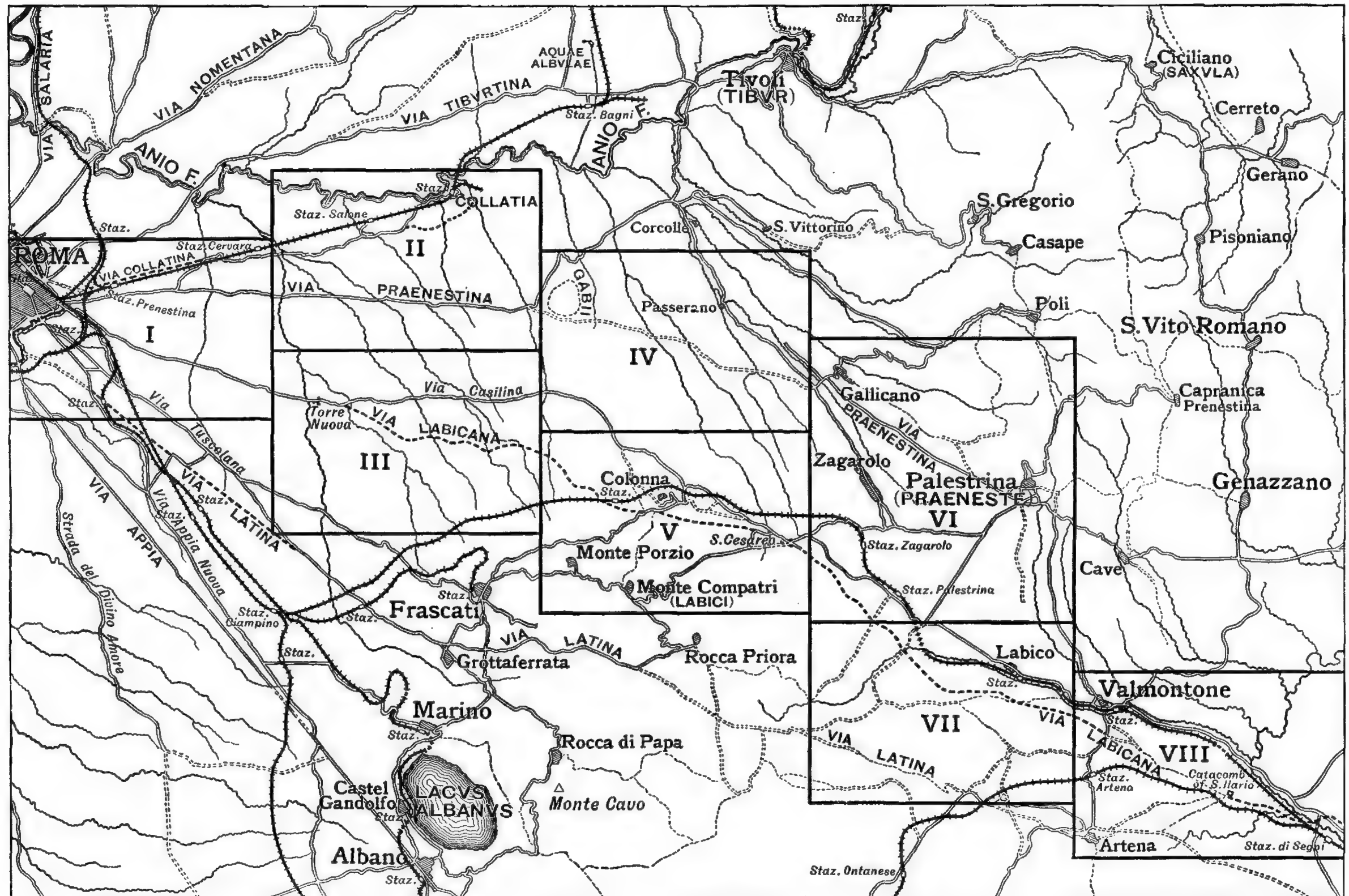
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KEY MAP.

Papers of Brit. Sch. at Rome, No. 2.



Walker & Cockerell sc.

Legend for the detail Maps.

	<i>Ancient Roads (certain)</i>	} <i>in red.</i>
	<i>" " (doubtful)</i>	
	<i>Aqueducts (certain)</i>	} <i>in red, when Ancient,</i>
	<i>" " (doubtful)</i>	
	<i>Ruins</i>	} <i>in black when Mediaeval or Modern.</i>
	<i>Ancient City Walls (certain)</i>	} <i>in red.</i>
	<i>" " " " (doubtful)</i>	

Note. - In Rome the Servian Wall only is shown in red, the Aurelian Wall in black.

 *Boundary lines between Communes*

 *Carriage Roads*

 *Cart Tracks*

 *Paths*

 *Railways*

B = *Bridge*

C = *Church*

D = *Drain*

F = *Fountain*

M = *Mediaeval*

P = *Pavement*

Q = *Quarry*

R = *Reservoir*

T = *Tomb*

V = *Villa*

W = *Well*

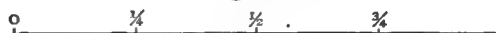
Scales.

Natural Scale. 1:25,000.

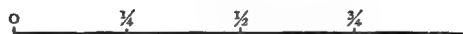
Kilomètres

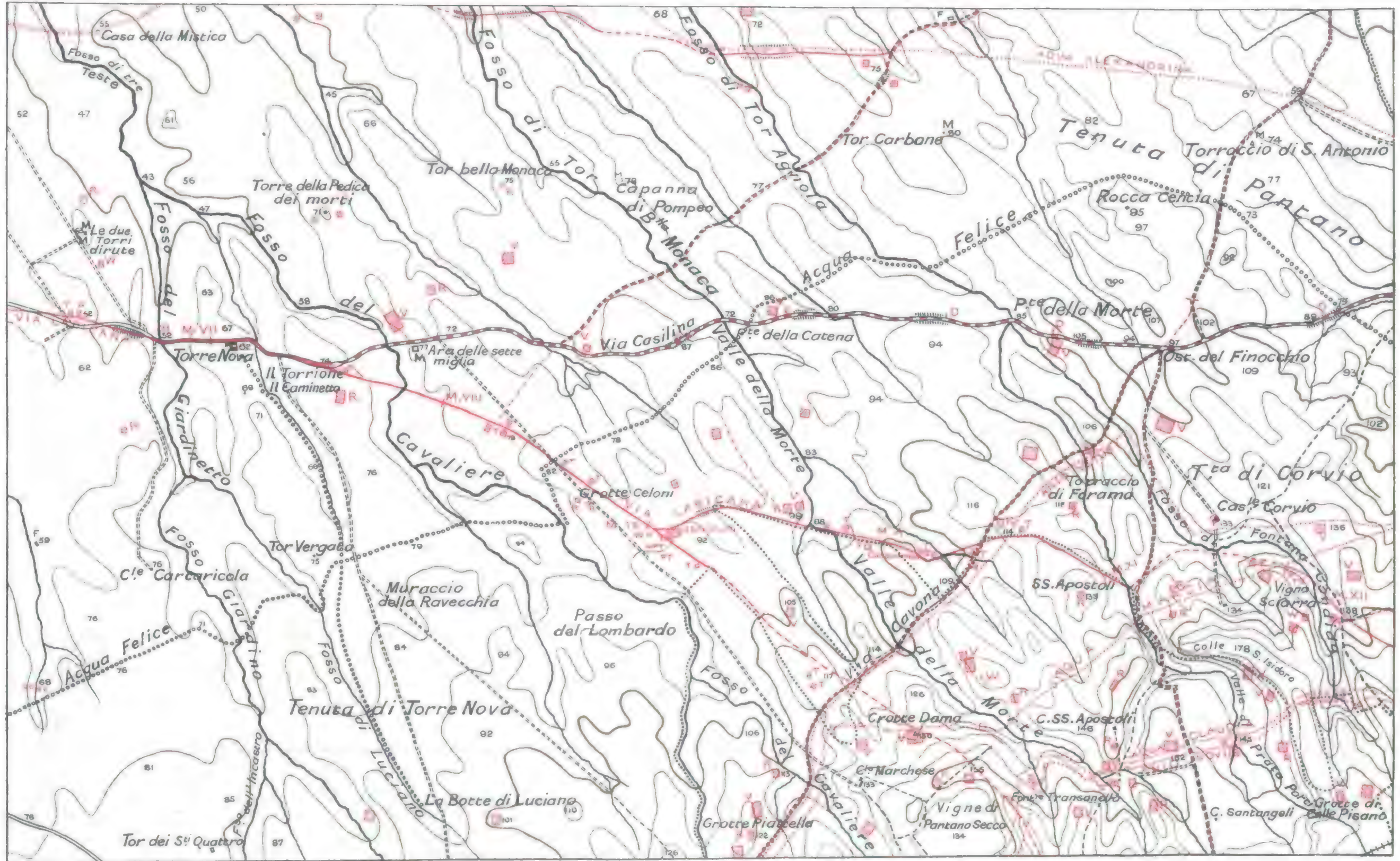


1 English Mile



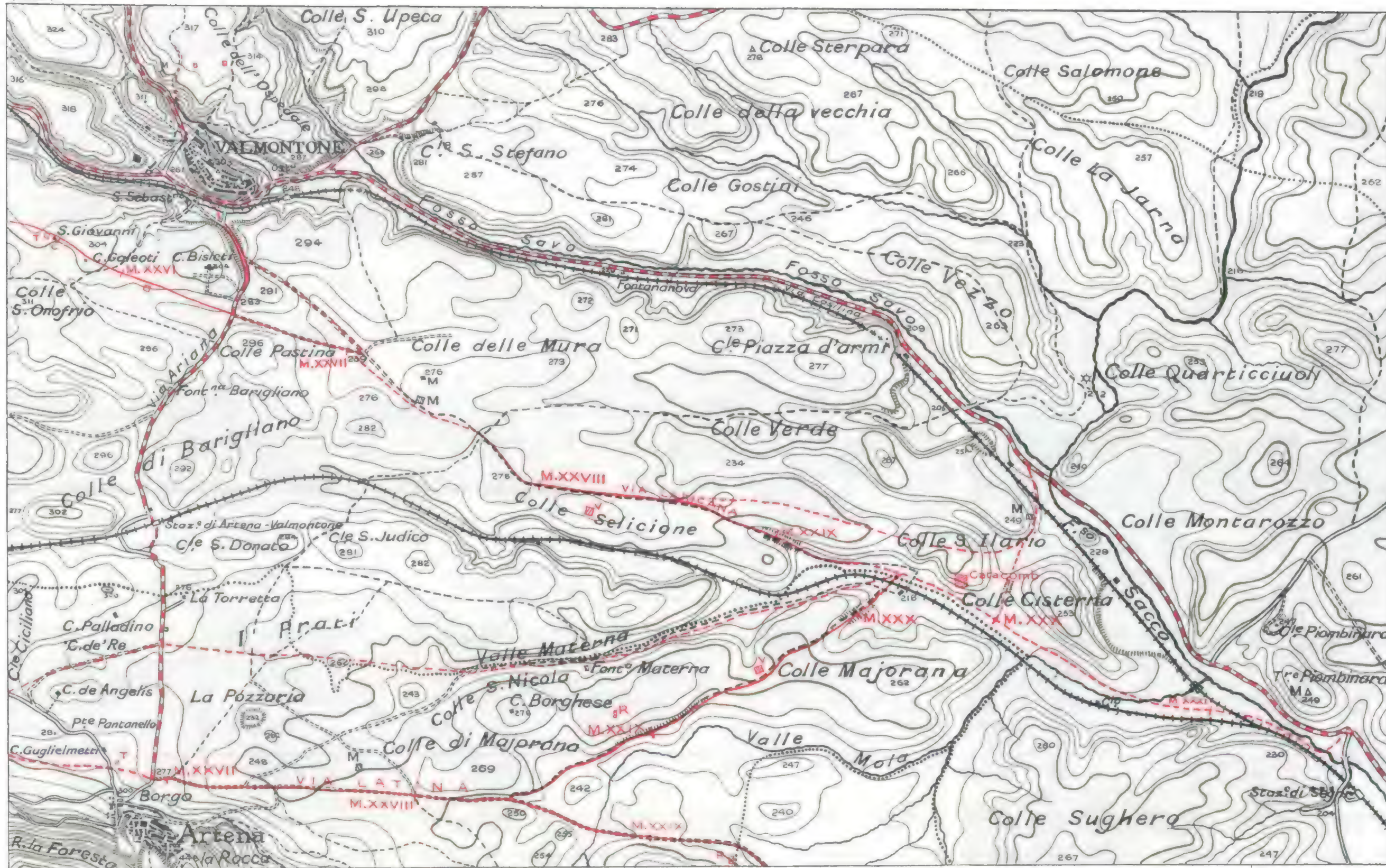
1 Roman Mile





This topographic map of the Colonna area in Tuscany, Italy, provides a detailed view of the landscape. The map is characterized by its contour lines, which show the elevation of the terrain. Key features include:

- Major Peaks and Hills:** Monte Porzio Catone (388m), Monte Compatri (416m), and several other smaller hills like M. Mellone, M. Dodda, and M. Cusoli.
- Settlements and Farms:** Colonna, Tenuta di S. Cesareo, and numerous smaller farms and hamlets such as Le Marmorelle, Le Cappelletto, and Le Cappellette.
- Rivers and Waterways:** The Arno river is visible, along with several smaller streams and waterways.
- Roads and Infrastructure:** The map shows a network of roads, including the Via Casilina and Via Maremmana inferiore, as well as various smaller paths and tracks.
- Topographic Details:** The map includes numerous contour lines, spot heights, and labels for various geographical features, providing a comprehensive view of the area's topography.



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